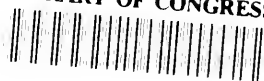


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ALEXANDER DUMAS, PÈRE (A QUADROON)

By E. Braxton, after painting by Vieusseux, considered one of his best portraits  
(Courtesy of the Negro Society for Historical Research)

# THE AFRICAN ABROAD

OR

His Evolution in Western Civilization

TRACING HIS DEVELOPMENT UNDER  
CAUCASIAN MILIEU

BY

WILLIAM H. FERRIS, A.M.

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*Ripley's "Races of Europe"—The Negro an Offshoot from the Mediterranean Race, which in Primitive Times Populated Europe and North Africa—The Negro Racially Allied to the Arab, the Egyptian, the Phœnician, the Homeric Greek, the Etruscan and the Iberian.*

The New International Encyclopædia, edited by the late President D. C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, Professor Harry Thurston Peck of Columbia University, and Mr. Colby, and the Americana Encyclopædia are liberal enough to declare that the population of Ancient Thebes, the Isle of Meroë and Abyssinia represented a blending of the Hamites, Asiatics and the Negroes. But now we come to the most epoch-making ethnological theory ever advanced; a theory which goes a step further and claims that the Hamites, who settled in North Africa, Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia, and the Negroes are offshoots from the same race stock—a theory which claims that the Negroes, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Phœnicians, the classical Greeks, and possibly the Etruscans and the Iberians, are all members and branches of the Mediterranean race, which, in primitive times, in the stone age, overran Europe and the British Isles.

How is this proved? From the study of the skulls. The crania of the branches of the Mediterranean race are all dolichocephalic or long-headed. Where were these dolichocephalic or long-headed skulls found? In the lowest substrata of soil in Greece, Italy, France, Spain and other parts of Europe. In the layers of soil above the substratum the brachycephalic or broad-headed skulls are found. What books disclose these novel and astonishing theories? Sergi's "Mediterranean Race," published in the Contemporary Science Series, and Ripley's "Races of Europe," delivered as Lowell Institute lectures and published by Appleton & Company in 1899. Who are Sergi and Ripley? Sergi is a professor in the University of Rome and William Z. Ripley is assistant professor of sociology in the Massachusetts Institute of

Technology and lecturer on anthropology in Columbia University. They are the Copernicuses of anthropology and ethnology. Lippurt, Quatrefages, Oscar Peschel, Taylor, Brinton and Keane have admirably performed their task of holding the attention of the audience, while the scenes were shifting and the real heroes of modern ethnological research were rehearsing their parts and getting in shape to step before the footlights and reveal those astonishing ethnological truths which will revolutionize the world's estimate of and attitude towards the Negro.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century teemed with more scientific discoveries than any other twenty-five years of the world's history. It was in that period that the new psychology came to the front, which banished to the limbo of exploded theories the idea of there being a separate bundle and group of faculties and showed that it is the Self that functions and acts in different ways. It was in that period that the science of sociology was born, that the biological supplanted the mechanical theory of the universe. It was that period which saw the rise of the science of embryology and the propagation of the hypothesis of Darwin and Weismann's theory of heredity. It was that period which gave birth to the germ theory of disease and anti-septic surgery and scientific agriculture. It was then that the X-ray was discovered, that the properties of radium were revealed, that Marconi prepared himself to flash his first message across the sea by wireless telegraphy. And it was that period in which the old theory of five separate and distinct races was discarded and relegated to the rear, and the new ethnology swept upon the stage.

When I was studying history and geography in the public schools of New Haven, over a score of years ago, I was taught that there were five separate and distinct races, namely: the Caucasian, a white race; the Mongolian, a yellow race; the Malay, a brown race; the Indian, a red race; and the Negro, a black race. When I studied sociology under the celebrated Professor William Graham Sumner of Yale, about sixteen years ago, I read in Peschel's "Races of Man" and other anthropological works that there were seven instead of five races; that all members of the Caucasian were not white, for the dark Hindoo was of the same Aryan stock as the fair, flaxen-haired, blue-

eyed Anglo-Saxon; that all Negroes were not black; that the Hottentots and Papuans were not Negroes; and that the Indian was copper-colored. Then it was taught that the Caucasian race was divided into four groups—the Aryan, the Turanian, the Semitic and the Hamitic. The Hindoos, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, Franks and Celts were the great races or stocks, who had a common home and origin in the fields and pastures of Asia. Max Müller's Sanscrit theory of language, showing that the roots of the common words of these peoples, such as mother, father and brother, could be traced to the Sanscrit, demonstrated this fact. Max Müller's Sanscrit theory was in the air when I was at Yale and Harvard.

Then the Huns, the Hungarians, Bulgarians and Russians were supposed to belong to the Turanian race. The Arabs and Jews were branches of the Semitic race. The Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Egyptians and Ethiopians were Hamites, or a Caucasian race which settled in north and northeastern Africa. I remember that Professor Sumner warned us not to accept all that we read in books on sociology, anthropology and ethnology. I am glad that his "*Folk Ways*," which far surpasses any sociological work yet published, has seen the light of publication and I regret that he was not spared to give to the world his two contemplated books. I remember, too, that Professor George Trumbull Ladd of Yale said, as we were reading Lotze's "*Microcosmus*," "the origin of man is shrouded in mystery." And I thank these two eminent scholars and thinkers for cautioning and warning us against believing that the science of anthropology had had its last say. That is why my mind was open to welcome the theories of Sergi and Ripley.

What have Sergi and Ripley accomplished? They have shown that separate and distinct races have no existence except in the heated imaginations of the Bourbons of the South. They have shown that the nations and races of Europe are very heterogeneous; that the Jew is not a pure race; that there are dolichocephalic or long-headed Jews, which indicates that somewhere in Africa there may have been a slight infusion of Ethiopian blood in the Jewish race. They have shown that the Etruscans and the Greeks of Homer's day were not Aryans but members of the Mediterranean race, from which the Negro race sprang. They

have shown that the Arab, supposed to be a Semite, and the Phœnicians and Egyptians, supposed to be Caucasian Hamites, in reality came from the same parent stem from which the African Negro was derived. In a word, they have shown that the Negro is racially allied to the Egyptian, the Phœnician, the Carthaginian, the classical Greek, the Etruscan, the Iberian and the Arab. They have shown that thousands of years ago the Mediterranean race dwelt on the north shores of Africa; that this race spread over Europe and Africa; that the civilization portrayed in Homer's "Iliad" was the civilization of the Mediterranean race; that the Etruscans, the great tower builders, who paved the way for the Roman civilization, were a blending of the Mediterranean and the Alpine races; that the Greek of the age of Pericles represented a blending of invading Aryans and the Mediterranean race; that first the Mediterranean, then the Alpine, and finally the Aryan race overran Europe; that the invading Aryans, who burned their dead, adopted conquest and peaceful immigration as their mode of infiltration; that the Mediterranean race was partly conquered and partly absorbed and assimilated. But the significant fact for us to know is that the despised and persecuted Negro came from the same parent stem as the Egyptian, Phœnician, Carthaginian, Arabian, the early Hellenes and the Etruscans.

I shall let Ripley tell his wonderful story, which reads like a romance, in his own words. On page 265, Ripley says:

All that we know historically of the Etruscans is that at a very early period they invaded the territory of the Umbrians, who certainly preceded them in the peninsula. Their advent was characterized by a highly evolved culture, from which that of the Romans developed. For the Etruscans were the real founders of the Eternal City.

On page 269, Ripley asks:

Which of these two cranial forms unearthed in their tombs, one Mediterranean, one Alpine, represents the Etruscans proper and which represents the population subjugated by them? . . . Perhaps, and it seems indeed most probable, Sergi is right in asserting that the Etruscans were really composed of two ethnic elements, one from the north, bringing the Hallstatt civilization of the Danube valley, the other Mediterranean both by race and by culture. The sudden outburst of a notable civilization may have been the result of the meeting of these two streams of human life at this point midway of the peninsula.



On page 272, Ripley says :

Beyond the Pyrenees begins Africa. Once that natural barrier is crossed, the Mediterranean racial type in all its purity confronts us. The human phenomena is entirely parallel with the sudden transition to the flora and fauna of the south. The Iberian population thus isolated from the rest of Europe, are allied in all important anthropological respects with the peoples inhabiting Africa north of the Sahara, from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. These people are characterized, as we have seen, by a predominant long-headedness.

On page 277, Ripley again says :

We must describe the modern African population of Hamitic speech very briefly. It falls into two great divisions—the Oriental and the Western. In the first are included the entire population of northeastern Africa from the Red Sea throughout the Soudan, Abyssinia, the Nile valley and Tunis. The second or western group is the only one to-day in contact or close affinity with Europe, although both groups are a unit in physical characteristics.

The physical traits of these Berbers are at once apparent by reason of their isolation from all admixture with the other ethnic types of Europe. In many cases the slightly concaved nose in profile is characteristic, suggesting the Negro. This frequently occurs among the Sardinians also. The hair of these people is the most African trait about them. Among all the Hamites from Abyssinia to Morocco, it varies from European wavy form to the crisp, curly variety. This may with certainty be ascribed to admixture with the Negro tribes south of the Sahara. Our Moor from Senegal, on the opposite portrait page, offers an illustration of this variety of hair. Upon the soft and wavy-haired European stock has surely been ingrafted a Negro cross.

On page 387, Ripley continues :

On the other hand, the peoples of African or Negro derivation form a radical contrast, their heads being quite long and narrow, with indices ranging from 75 to 78. This is the type of the living Arab to-day. Its peculiarity appears in the prominence of the occipital region in our Arab and other African portraits. . . . From the Semites in the Canary Islands, all across northern Africa, to central Arabia itself, the cephalic indices of the nomadic Arabs agree closely. They denote a head form closely allied to that of the long-headed Iberian type, typified in modern Spaniards, south Italians and the Greeks. It was the head form of the ancient Phoenicians and Egyptians also, as has been proved recently beyond all question. Thus does the European Mediterranean type shade off in head form, as in complexion also, into the primitive anthropological type of the Negro.

On page 407, Ripley says:

All authorities agree that the ancient Hellenes were decidedly long-headed, betraying in this respect their affinity to the Mediterranean race, which we have already traced throughout southern Europe and Africa. Whether from Attica, from Schleimann's successive cities excavated upon the site of Troy, or from the coast of Asia Minor; at all times from 400 B. C. to the third century of our era, it would seem proved that the Greeks were of this dolichocephalic type.

Continuing, Ripley says, on the top of page 408:

As we shall see, every characteristic in their modern descendants and every analogy with the neighboring populations leads us to the conclusion that the classical Hellenes were distinctly of the Mediterranean racial type, little different from the Phœnicians, the Romans or the Iberians.

On page 500, Ripley comments:

It does not require a great credulity to admit of this hypothesis, that the Hallstatt people were of Mediterranean type. Were not the Greek, the Phœnicians and the Egyptians all members of this same race? One single difficulty presents itself. Over in Italy, throughout the valley of the Po, an entirely analogous civilization to that of the Eastern Alps occurs. . . . It would seem admissible to assume that when the modern brachycephalic Alpine race submerged the native one, it brought new elements of civilization with it.

On page 457 of his great work, he concludes that:

Concerning race, first of all, we may hold four propositions to be fairly susceptible of proof. They are as follows: The European races, as a whole, show signs of a secondary or derived origin, certain characteristics, especially the texture of the hair, lead us to class them as intermediate between the extreme primary types of the Asiatics and the Negro races respectively.

On page 461, he says:

The earliest and lowest strata of population of Europe were extremely long-headed: probability points to the living Mediterranean race as the most nearly representative of it to-day.

In pages 416 to 465 of that book, Ripley shows that the Mediterranean race was the primitive race in Europe.

On page 463 he says:

Then began the discovery of abundant prehistoric remains all over Europe, particularly in France. These with one accord tended to show

that the European aborigines of the stone age were not Mongoloid like the Lapps after all, but the exact opposite. In every detail they resembled rather the dolichocephalic Negroes of Africa.

On pages 465 and 466 of that book, he says:

If, therefore, as all consistent students of natural history hold to-day, the human races have evolved in the past from some common root type, this predominant dark color must be regarded as the more primitive. It is not permissible for an instant to suppose that ninety-nine per cent. of the human species has varied from a blond ancestry, while the flaxen-haired Teutonic type alone has remained true to its primitive characteristics.

These Berbers and their fellows, in fact, shading off as they do into the Negro race south of the Sahara, we must regard as having least departed from the aboriginal European type.

On page 467, Ripley states his third proposition. He says:

It is highly probable that the Teutonic race of northern Europe is merely a variety of this primitive long-headed type of the stone age; both its distinctive blondness and its remarkable stature having been acquired in the relative isolation of Scandinavia, through the modifying influences of environment and artificial selection.

On page 670, Ripley states his fourth proposition. He says:

It is certain that after the partial occupation of western Europe by a dolichocephalic Africanoid type in the stone age, an invasion by a broad-headed race of decidedly Asiatic affinities took place. This intrusive element is represented to-day by the Alpine type of central Europe. . .

We know that the broad-headed layer of population was not contemporary with the earliest stratum we have described above, because its remains are often found directly superposed upon it geologically. From all over western Europe comes testimony to this effect. We have seen in preceding chapters how clear the distinction was in Britain, Russia and northern Italy. France gives us the clearest proof of it. Oftentimes where several layers of human remains are found in caves or other burial places, the long-headed type is quite unmixed in the lowest stratum, gradually the other type becomes more frequent until it outnumbers its predecessor utterly.

On page 473, Ripley remarks:

The Alpine type approaches all the other human millions on the Asiatic continent, in the head form especially, but in hair color and stature as well, also prejudices us in the matter; just as the increasing long-headedness and extreme brunetteness of our Mediterranean race led us previously to derive it from some type parent to that of the African

Negro. These points are then fixed; the roots of the Alpine race run eastward; those of the Mediterranean type toward the south.

On page 479, Ripley says:

Brinton is inclined to derive the Aryan (language) from this third source—the languages of the Hamitic peoples of northern Africa. Keane, following out this thought, is inclined to regard the Basque as another European relic of the same primitive stock. This theory of an Afro-European origin of the Aryan speech has much to recommend it, especially in view of the undoubtedly Negroid physical affinities of the most primitive substratum of European population.

Its principal defect as yet is the extreme tenuity of the proof of any linguistic relation not only between Basque and Berber, but also between Hamito-Semitic and Aryan.

On page 481, Ripley thus sums up:

As a net result of the discussions above described, the present status of the Aryan question among philologists is somewhat as follows: Some, Delbrück, for example, deny that any parent language ever was; some, like Whitney, refuse to believe that its center of origin can ever be located; some, with Fick and Hocfer, still adhere to Pictet's old theory of Asiatic derivation; some, notably Sayce, have been converted from this to the European hypothesis; Max Müller is wavering, while Brinton and Keane urge the claims of northern Africa; and some, following Latham and Schrader, have never found good cause for denying the honor to Europe from the first.

What shall we say of this wonderful theory? If it be true, as Sergi and Ripley have conclusively demonstrated, that the Negro sprang from the same Mediterranean race, from the same parent stem from which the Homeric Greek, the Etruscan, the Iberian, the Phœnician, the Egyptian and the Arab descended, it partly accounts for his artistic, oratorical and musical gifts; it partly explains why the Negro has in a less developed form the eye for color and beauty, the creative imagination and the fluency of speech which characterized the Hellenes.

We can well understand how the tropical heat and climatic influences, operating through centuries, darkened his complexion and curled his hair. But how explain that he alone of the Mediterranean race made no contribution to civilization, that he did not develop but remained a savage? The enervating and energy-sapping properties of the heat of the torrid zone, and the ease with which everything grows in the tropics, and the fact

that the Negro in the heart of Africa was remote from contact with a more advanced civilization, and away from that intercourse with other nations which quickens the intellect and broadens knowledge, explains why the African Negro has remained stationary intellectually.

Then reflect also that long after the Phœnicians had invented the alphabet, long after the Ethiopians on the Isle of Meroë had constructed their wonderful tombs, buildings and monuments, long after Egypt had erected her pyramids, long after Athens had reached the acme of intellectual development in the age of Pericles, and Phidias had planned the Parthenon, long after Rome had built the Coliseum, the ancestors of the proud Anglo-Saxon were roaming as savages in German forests, and the ancestors of the gifted Celtic people were offering up human sacrifices on Druidic altars. If any one had told Pericles twenty-four centuries ago, or Julius Cæsar two thousand years ago, that the descendants of those German savages and barbarians would erect buildings and monuments 612 feet high, throw a suspension bridge a mile in length across a river and send an underground tube forty and fifty feet below a river bed, through which cars would be whirled by electricity at the rate of a mile in two minutes; if any one had told them that this race would construct a horseless carriage that would cover a mile in less than a minute, would reproduce the human voice through a phonograph, cast moving pictures upon a canvas, talk through a phone with a man fifteen hundred miles away, send a message by wireless telegraphy across the sea, discover an X-ray that could penetrate through the human flesh and detect a bullet lodged in the bone, send a leaden ball by the explosive force of gunpowder over a mile, invent a boat that would sail under water, and the æroplane that could fly like a bird; if any one had told these statesmen that these fierce savages would bridge chasms, tunnel under mountains, send a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, bring up coal, oil, gold, copper and silver from the depths of the earth, measure the distance of the stars and compute the rapidity of their movements; would in Shakespeare produce a poet who surpassed Homer, in Milton and Goethe produce poets who rivalled Vergil; in Carlyle would produce a historian who surpassed Thucydides and Tacitus in moral insight; in Kant and Hegel and Lotze and Ladd and

Royce would produce philosophers who would make the speculations of Plato and Aristotle look like day dreams—Pericles and Caesar would have regarded him as insane. So who can foretell what the Negro will not do in the future?

The fact that this race has, in Henry Daiz, the Brazilian hero, in the Russian Hannibal, in Menelik and Toussaint L'Ouverture, produced brilliant generals; in Blyden and Amo produced profound philosophers; in Capitein, Francis Williams, Blyden, J. C. Ayler, and Scarborough, produced linguists; in Crummell produced a Plutarch; in the Zulu Seme, a wonderful orator; in Smithwick of Yale, a master of Roman law; in Oreshatukeh Faduma, a Hebrew scholar and theologian; in Kelly Miller, a mathematician; in Granville Woods, an inventor; in Dr. I. N. Porter of New Haven, Conn., a wonderful physician; in Dunbar, a poet, and in J. C. Price, a matchless orator, shows the capacity of a pure or almost pure Negro.

But some may say that these are the exceptions and the exceptions but prove the rule. Yes, but bear in mind that only a small minority of the Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Germans, French, Englishmen and Americans have blazed out new paths in literature, art, science, business, politics and invention. The vast majority but trod the way that others had prepared, and enjoyed the fruit of the thought and genius of a few gifted individuals. No, the fact that the African and American and Haytien Negro has done little in the past but discuss, argue and criticize, does not argue that this race will not achieve in the future as its racially allied stocks have in the past.

Then, too, we must remember that the Negroes, living for centuries in the heart of Africa, were removed from the centers of both eastern and western civilization. And contact with the centers of civilization is the intellectual sunshine and rainfall which quickens the slumbering germs of intelligence in an undeveloped race.

Take the Hebrews, that gifted race which gave to the world the monotheistic conception of Deity. They did not evolve their unique moral and religious ideals entirely out of their own consciousness. They were taken captives by the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Persians. They were conquered by the Greeks and Romans. They early came in contact with the Phœni-

cians, who brought new ideas as well as foreign goods. And they derived new ideas by association with these races. The relation between the Logos doctrine of the Gospel of John and Neo Platonic philosophy has been clearly shown. Dr. Nordau refers to the influence of the civilization of Cheto upon Israel. Then, too, Lolie shows that many ideas, poetic figures and characteristics of style in the Bible, which were supposed to be of purely Hebrew origin, were really derived from the Akkads and were of purely Akkadian origin.

"In 1906," Nordau says, "excavations at Boghazko discovered Cheto, the capital of an empire of that name. Nothing is known of that empire, save a Theban inscription referring to a treaty between its Emperor and Rameses III." "But," says Dr. Nordau, "between 1500 and 1100 B. C. this empire had in all probability a profound influence on Judea and Israel, hitherto unsuspected by historians."

Lolie, in his comparative literature, says on page 6, regarding the people of Sumer and Akkad, who lived near the "confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris" between 4500 to 2000 B. C., when they were overwhelmed by a "Semitic" invasion and conquest:

They left behind them among those who replaced them, Assyrians, Phoenicians, or Jews, an abundant and prolific written tradition. The Jews, in particular, who much later succeeded them, were greatly indebted to them. The expression of ideas or images and the poetical figures that have been regarded for centuries as purely Biblical and which extorted homage for the inspired word of the Hebrews, and even for the very characteristics of the style, such as the repetition of the identical idea in other words in the same sentence—these are now shown to be of purely Akkadian origin by the latest researches of epigraphical science. In the Psalms attributed to David we find the formulae of the ancient race of Akkad, and we hear an echo of its prayers.

Indeed, it is true of the four great race stocks, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Germans, and the Anglo-Saxons, who have contributed new ideas to civilization, that the impulse for their wonderful development at first came from the outside. Some other race or nation first dropped the seed that later in the racial soil attained to such surprising growth. And while Rome had herself derived political and military organization, in matters of civilization she sat at the feet of Greece. So the failure of the

African Negro as a whole to attain a high civilization cannot be attributed to inherent racial inferiority. Thus we must regard the Negro as an undeveloped rather than an inferior or backward race. And I believe that the Negro's marvelous ability to absorb and assimilate a higher civilization will be clearly demonstrated in the twentieth century.

---

G. Spiller, organizer of the First Universal Races Congress, in his "Science and Race Prejudice," which first appeared in "The Sociological Review," October, 1912, says:

\* Sir Harry Johnston claims that "there is an ancient Negroid strain underlying the populations of Southern and Western France, Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland," and that "there is something of the Red Indian in the people of Scotland and Ireland, of Germany, Northern Russia, Tartary, and Siberia, due to the continued existence in these regions of a very ancient admixture between the proto-Caucasian and the Mongol, which assisted to people not only Northern Europe and Asia, but also North America."

Add to this "that nowhere in the world exists a pure white race" (Johnston), and that other races are similarly situated, and it becomes manifest that it is as reasonable to explain Western civilization by the influx of "coloured" blood into Europe as to explain Eastern civilization by the infiltration of "white" blood.

The greatness of ancient Egypt has been attributed to the Egyptians crossing with other races, notably with the Negroes, who were always held in high esteem by the Egyptians; *e. g.*, several of the Queens of Egypt were Negresses. (Dr. H. Weisgerber, *Les Blancs d'Afrique*, 1910, pp. 206-7. p. 377.)

The Egyptian monuments at the British Museum almost invariably portray the Egyptian with decidedly Negroid lips and with features akin to those of the Negro, just as the Assyrian on his monuments, portrays himself with thin lips and hooked nose.

First, we note the significant fact that the two great European civilizations of ancient times—Athens and Rome—had their seat in the most Eastern portion of Europe, and secondly that the cradle of the white peoples is said to be the Caucasus or, according to some writers, Asia.

The dark-white European on the borders of the East appears, therefore, to be the pioneer of Western culture, and it would be interesting



to know precisely how far proximity to the civilizations of the East, warmth of climate, and crossing with neighbouring Eastern peoples (who were often themselves Negroid), offered an explanation of the greatness of Athens and Rome.

Professor Lyde, of University College, London, held that "there is no doubt that difference of skin colour is one of the greatest racial barriers, and yet there can be little doubt that it is entirely a matter of climatic control."

Professor von Luschan is as decided in this matter as Professor Lyde: "We now know that colour of skin and hair is only the effect of environment, and that we are fair only because our ancestors lived for thousands, or probably for tens of thousands, of years in sunless and foggy countries. Fairness is nothing else but lack of pigment, and our ancestors lost part of their pigment because they did not need it. Just as the proteus sanguineus and certain beetles became blind in caves, where their eyes were useless, so we poor fair people have to wear dark glasses and gloves when walking on a glacier, and get our skin burned when we expose it unduly to the light of the sun. (*Ibid.*, p. 14.)"

Such a highly distinguished administrator, traveller, and author as Sir Harry Johnston expresses himself as follows on this subject in the *Contemporary Review* of August, 1911: "We should indeed be living in a fool's paradise if we continued to assume that a Negro could never attain to the high mentality of a white man, or equal him as an inventor, an artist, a strategist, a writer." And, after giving some illustrations, he continues: "I should not be surprised, within the remainder of my lifetime, to see emerging from the Negro ranks in America, West or South Africa, a first-class botanist, philologist, electrician, engineer, statesman, or novelist."

William Archer, on page 218 of his work "Through Afro-America," says:

The South, which boasts itself almost the last stronghold of pure Anglo-Saxondom, is told that the pure Anglo-Saxon is a myth, not a superstition. As to the Negro we are assured that we were all Negroes once, or something very much to that effect. At any rate, it is asserted that the Mediterranean races, with whom Western civilization originated, were in great part of Negro origin.

On May 6, 1913, E. G. H. of Doble Walls, Okla., had an interesting letter in the *New York Sun*, headed "Anglo-Saxons." An impatient Oklahoman swats a "Race" and myth that weary him. Among other things the writer said:

Ethnologists are pretty well agreed that the northern "long heads" are of the same race as the dark Mediterranean peoples, only bleached out by long residence in a cool, moist climate. Both appear to be descendants of a nigrescent race that came into Europe from Africa. The culture of Europe comes largely from the ruddy brachycephalic race that came into Europe from Asia and passes under the name of Celts. Civilization, however, was given to the world by dark, southern peoples—Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. Nietzsche's "blond beasts" certainly "have nothing on" the Greeks in intellect nor on the Romans in war.

The idea that Germans, English and Americans are "Anglo-Saxons" is so absurd that it is difficult to understand how any intelligent person can entertain it. While there seem to be three great races in Europe—blonds in the north, brunettes in the south and the ruddy Celts between—there are probably only two, Celts and Iberians, the latter being light in the north and dark in the south, the Celts coming from Asia, the Iberians from Africa. These peoples became interfused in prehistoric times, so that in any period of which we have any account they are practically one people. This is especially true of Germanic peoples, for the reason that the Celtic invasion was in central Europe, and the Germans were as much affected by it as the French.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### *African Civilization and Professor Chamberlain on the Negro in Ancient Civilization.*

Perhaps the reader has been perplexed and bewildered by the multitude of theories advanced in the recent chapters. Three of the positions taken are tenable; with regard to the fourth, the result is a drawn battle. But more can be said for than against it.

First—It is undoubtedly true that the ancient Ethiopians attained a high degree of civilization.

Secondly—It is probably true that there was a strain of Negro blood in the ancient Egyptian race.

Thirdly—It is probably true that there was more Negro than Caucasian Hamitic and Semitic blood in the Ethiopian race, and it is possible that the Negro strain was predominant.

With regard to the Mediterranean origin of civilization and the fact of the Negro in remote antiquity being a remote branch of this race, I am not enough of an ethnologist to speak with, what the German philosopher Kant would call, apodictic certainty. Some eminent authorities have supported the former view and others both the former and the latter views. But I will not be the judge. I will present the evidence and permit the reader to render his verdict. I will let the authorities, M. D. Maclean, Chamberlain, Volney, Herodotus, J. Y. Myers, Angelo, Masso and Sergi, speak for themselves in their own language.

Whether the reader wholly agrees with these writers, he will at least admit that their views are backed by immense evidence and are worthy of serious consideration.

So many new theories have been advanced in science, ethnology and anthropology during the past ten years that they have not been thoroughly sifted and the chaff separated from the wheat. But it is well for the reader to know what the hypotheses are and what the evidence is upon which they are based.

In her contribution to *The Crisis*, entitled "African Civilization," Mrs. M. D. Maclean has the following to say:

A recent press dispatch tells a curious tale of a German explorer who has found, in a remote region of Africa, a bronze head of fine workmanship. The explorer, according to the cable, has been led to believe that he has discovered the sight of the legendary country of Atlantis, represented in ancient Greek literature as an island of high civilization lying far to the west.

It is to be doubted whether the explorer made any such deduction from his find. The Atlantis portion of the story may be the embellishment of an imaginative correspondent, for that long disappeared country has been sought and found in so many places that scientists are wary of talking about it. What would seem a more reasonable explanation of the discovery is that another evidence of an ancient African civilization has been brought to light.

Whenever traces of a high civilization have been found in Africa the first question asked used to be: "Where was it brought from?" Nobody was prepared to entertain the idea that perhaps it was not borrowed from anybody but originated on the spot, among the native races. As time goes on, however, and more evidence of a very ancient development appears in Africa, scientists have come to the conclusion that Africa played a very important part in the first stages of the world's history. The testimony of the monuments has been too much for the other theory.

For instance, some years ago, there was a good deal of a sensation over the discovery of so-called Phœnician remains in upper Rhodesia. They were probably, said the dispatches, the remains of dwellings that surrounded King Solomon's mines. Investigation has shown conclusively that they were nothing of the sort, but merely remnants of a native civilization. Mr. David Randall-MacIver of Oxford University went to Rhodesia full of enthusiasm for the Phœnician theory, but after a careful investigation his published work left no doubt on the subject. There was nothing about the ruins in the remotest fashion Phœnician or Oriental or anything but African.

Even more startling results have followed the last ten years of excavations in the upper Soudan. They are not only giving a vast amount of information as to the early history of the Negro but are strengthening the claim that the black man, not the white man, was the first to discover the art of working metals and gave his knowledge, which was the first great step forward in civilization, to Europe and nearer Asia. Dr. Schweinfurth, the famous German ethnologist, and Dr. von Luschan, of the University of Berlin, have about converted European scientists to this way of thinking, while in this country the theory is supported by our greatest anthropologist, Professor Boas, of Columbia.

It is not an easy task to put together from the many unrelated accounts of excavations in Africa all that has been discovered as to the black man's past, but it is safe to say that every discovery has tendered to confirm the accounts of African civilization which have come down to us as legends from antiquity.

There existed, of course, until quite recent times a high civilization among the blacks of the upper Nile. From Arab books many of the details of this country's customs and government have been gathered and translated into French. Lady Lugard's book, "A Tropical Dependency," gives perhaps the best popular accounts of these records. But in addition to these modern records the country is full of monuments of a great antiquity, older than the most ancient records of the Egyptians, going back centuries before Pharaoh's daughter found Moses in the bulrushes.

How far Egypt took its civilization from the black empire and how far the two cultures originated simultaneously, from a common source, will not be decided until all of the ruins have been unearthed and their records read, but it looks as if old theories were turning upside down, as if the black nations of certain regions of Africa were not races in their infancy but the descendants of powerful civilizations broken by the slave trade and by misfortune in successive wars.

The Egyptians always said that their forefathers learned their arts and largely received their laws from the black people further south. And of course, throughout the pages of Homer the Ethiopians are spoken of with great respect, like the ancient Cretans as the friends of the Gods. The "blameless Ethiopians" is a common phrase.

Herodotus, many centuries before the Christian Era, told tales of Africa which passed as the purest fiction until a few years ago. A famous instance is his assertion that a race of pygmies existed in the interior. For centuries historians shook their heads over this, as an example of imagination running away with fact, when suddenly it was discovered that Herodotus was perfectly right. Similarly his tales of the ancient empire south of Egypt are being verified from the monuments built by the very people of whom the historian wrote to celebrate their victories and honor their gods.

The most ancient inscriptions along the upper Nile have not been deciphered. The story of the Land of the Blacks is pretty well known, however, as far back as the eighth century before Christ.

In view of the common origin of the two civilizations and their close interrelation it is natural enough to find the doings of the black kings chronicled after the same fashion as their Egyptian cousins.

Their writing is like that of the Egyptian and the gods they worshipped were closely related to the gods of Egypt. We learn from the inscriptions that when Piankhi, the black king, conquered Egypt in 750 B. C., he worshipped, without question, in Egyptian temples and the carving in the excavated ruins, which show men and women unmistakably Negro, give evidence of the similarity of religion. Only the idea now is that civilization came down the Nile instead of going up.

The black empire appears to have been pretty well run. When the Nubians conquered Egypt they seem to have abolished the death penalty and set the prisoners to work on public improvements. Indeed, it would appear that among the blacks there was no custom of putting

men to death. When it seemed well that a criminal should be removed he was told of the fact and allowed to commit suicide. Even the King was obliged to commit suicide at the command of his people.

When Cambyes, the king of Persia, conquered Egypt he was anxious to see for himself whether the stories of the greatness of the black empire were true. He sent to the king gifts of gold and palm wine and incense, and asked to be informed whether or not it was true that on a certain spot called "The Table of the Sun," the magistrates put every night provisions of cooked meats so that anyone who was hungry might come in the morning and help himself.

The black king, Nastasen, received the envoys peacefully, though without enthusiasm. He showed them the table of the sun, as described to Cambyes, and took them to the prison where the prisoners wore fetters of gold that the Persian might be properly impressed. He did not admit, however, that the palm wine was good.

Cambyes made war on the blacks but did not succeed in gaining much ground, so he gave up the idea of winning for himself the gold that was so common in the Negro empire.

Candace, the black queen, was a famous figure of the empire, tales of whose prowess spread to Greece. It would appear from the monuments, however, that the kingdom was at that time ruled by queens, each bearing the name of Candace. This accounts for the different descriptions of the lady, some showing her as very beautiful and some allowing her but one eye and painting her as very much of a harriden.

These kings and queens, whose records have been deciphered, are of comparatively recent years—not more than 2,500 or 3,000 years old. Even more interesting will be the results of the excavations of the older ruins. "The Ethiopians," says Herodotus, "were the first men who ever lived," and if they were not the first to live it would seem fairly well established that they were either the first or among the first to found a civilization.

Within the last ten years there has been dug out in Crete the remains of a civilization two thousand years more ancient than any hitherto known in Egypt. We have the actual buildings, the theatres, palaces, and temples, of Crete in 3000 B. C., and we know as facts what was guesswork even in Homer's time. Now, that there was communication between Crete and Egypt 2,000 years before Christ is certain. One of the frescoes found at Crete shows some religious ceremonial done very much in the Egyptian style. Some of the priestesses are white, while others are black. How far back the connection between the African and Cretan civilization dates is a question soon perhaps to be settled.

At any rate there appear to have been two great civilizations at a very early time, that in the Nile country, begun and largely maintained by black men, and that in Crete. The Cretans seem to have been a dark race, rather small, with regular, almost Greek profiles, and full lips. Nothing has been found to indicate that civilization came to them or to Africa from Asia, whence it was once thought all knowledge originated.

Everything so far unearthed in Crete and in the Soudan seems to favor the theory that all around the Mediterranean there arose, in the Stone Age, a common race of men who, in the course of centuries, developed differing physical characteristics, and they peopled Europe and Africa, where the first civilization arose in Crete and the Soudan.

So we see that five centuries ago there was a high civilization which fell before some barbarian invasion, just as Rome fell two thousand years ago and remained for centuries only a romance and a dream. Everywhere we find evidence that there was no one commanding race, that all developed, some faster than others, a civilization.

In some respects we appear to have been traveling in a circle; certainly there have been considerable declines in civilization from time to time, dark ages that followed periods of greatness. There has been no steady evolution from the cave man to the twentieth-century person who is so sure he stands at the summit. Man seems to have progressed more or less like the famous frog who jumped three feet and fell back two—only sometimes man fell back four.

Alexander Francis Chamberlain, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Anthropology in Clark University, Worcester, Mass., in his remarkable article, entitled, "The Contribution of the Negro to Civilization," published in the *Journal of Race Development*, in April, 1911, gives striking testimony to the infusion of Negro blood into the Ancient Egyptian race, showing that the mothers of Amen-hotep I and Amen-hotep III, who built the great temple of Ammon at Luxor and the Memnonian Colossi, were Negresses. He also shows that a Negro general led a Japanese army centuries ago.

Professor Chamberlain says in that article:

The contributions of the Negro to human civilization are innumerable and immemorial. Let us first get some glimpses of him chiefly as an individual, in contact with the past of other cultures than his own. Ancient Egypt knew him, both bond and free, and his blood flowed in the veins of not a few of the mighty Pharaohs. Nefertari, the famous Queen of Aahmes, the King of Egypt, who drove the Hyksos from the land and founded the Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1700 B. C.), was a Negress of great beauty, strong personality, and remarkable administrative ability. She was for years associated in the government with her son, Amen-hotep I, who succeeded his father. Queen Nefertari was highly venerated and many monuments were erected in her honor; she was venerated as "ancestress and founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty" and styled "the wife of the god Ammon," etc. Another strain of Negro blood came into the line of the Pharaohs with Mutemua, wife of Thothemes III,

whose son Amenhotep III, had a Negroid physiognomy. Amenhotep III was famous as a builder and his reign (ca. 1400 B. C.) is distinguished by a marked improvement in Egyptian art and architecture. He it was who built the great temple of Ammon at Luxor and the colossi of Memnon. Besides these marked individual instances, there is the fact that the Egyptian race itself in general had a considerable element of Negro blood, and one of the prime reasons why no civilization of the type of that of the Nile arose in other parts of the continent, if such a thing were at all possible, was that Egypt acted as a sort of channel by which the genius of Negroland was drafted off into the service of Mediterranean and Asiatic culture. In this sense Egyptian civilization may be said, in some respects, to be of Negro origin. Among the Semitic people, whose civilizations were so numerous and so ancient on the shores of the Mediterranean and throughout western Asia, the Negro, as in Egypt, made his influence felt, from the lowest to the highest walks of life, sometimes as a slave, sometimes as the freest of citizens. As cup-bearer, or confidential adviser, he stood next to kings and princes, and as faithful eunuch he enhanced and extended the power of the other sex in lands where custom confined them to the four walls of their dwellings or restricted to the utmost their appearance and their actions in public. And women from Ethiopia, "black but comely," wives or favorite slaves of satraps and of kings, often were the real rulers of Oriental provinces and empires. Nor have the Negroes in these Asiatic countries been absent from the ranks of the musician and the poet, from the time of Solomon to that of Haroun al Raschid and beyond in the days of Emirs and Sultans. One must not forget the Queen of Sheba, with her dash of Negro blood, said, together with that of the great Solomon, to have been inherited by the sovereigns of Abyssinia. When under the brilliant dynasty of the Ommiades (661-750 A. D.), the city of Damascus was one of the glories of the world, its galaxy of five renowned poets included Nosseyeb, the Negro. And we can cross the whole of Asia and find the Negro again, for, when, in far-off Japan, the ancestors of the modern Japanese were making their way northward against the Ainu, the aborigines of that country, the leader of their armies was Sakanouye Tamuramaro, a famous general and a Negro.

Gaston Camille Maspero, Hon. D.C.L. and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Member of the Institute, etc., refers to the tribes surrounding Egypt in a book called the "Struggle of the Nations," edited by Professor A. H. Sayce of Oxford, and published by Appleton in 1900. He says on page 233 of that work:

Most of the remaining tribes were of black blood and such of them as we see depicted on the monuments resemble closely the Negroes inhabiting Central Africa at the present day.



Note at the foot of the page:

In addition to the Ethiopian race, represented in the woodcut on page 232, the types of tributary Negro peoples shown for instance on the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty and on those of Rakhmire. Virey LeTombeau de Rakhmara, page 6, in the *Memoires de la Mission du Caire*, Vol. V, pages 34-36.

In Chapter XXIV, a new Egyptian tale in his work, "New Light on Ancient Egypt," Maspero describes a transaction with the King of Egypt and uses the terms Ethiopian, Black and Negro as synonymous.

On page 51 of J. L. Myers' "The Dawn of History," we find:

The men of the Nile Valley belong essentially to the wide-spread "Berger" type, which dominates all the dry area of Northern Africa, as well as the Atlas range, and is probably akin to the Arab types in the similar region beyond the Red Sea. . . . Negroid folk from the region of tropical rains, who have interbred with these aborigines along the whole of their common frontier, have been enabled, by their jungle habit, to push down-stream far northward of their average extension.

#### ANGELO MASSO.

An Italian savant asserts that Europe was peopled and civilized from Africa, and the *New York Times* for April 9, 1911, in reviewing "The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization," published by the Baker & Taylor Co., speaks

. . . of one civilization permeating Egypt, Europe and the islands of the Mediterranean in the neolithic age. Admitting that Minoan ships made such a thing possible, and that the search for metals led their sailors into uncharted seas, the dissemination of culture over such a wide area by a people just emerging from savagery seems at first to be almost incredible. Yet this is the large impassive idea of the book which will be remembered longest and pondered over most.

The author takes up "the known remains of the stone, copper and bronze ages in the entire basin of the Mediterranean with special reference to prehistory in Italy and Spain in comparison with that of Egypt, Cyprus and Crete. The Valley of the Nile before the Pharaohs, the neolithic population of Crete, the origin of art in religion, personal adornment, native figures, pre-Homeric navigation and the age of copper in Sinai, Crete, Cyprus, Italy, and Spain are described in terms in an adequate translation from the Italian, and with two hundred odd illustrations."

The narrative becomes more convincing, however, when this fabric of citations from many sources of tabulation, induction, mathematics and chemistry is used to drive home the theory mentioned in several

chapters as compelling interest. Africa is made the fountain-head of Mediterranean civilization and of migrations northward over Europe. The part played by the Asiatic people is considered negligible. The Phœnicians and Etruscans totter on their traditional pedestals and seem to be imitators rather than pioneers. The Indo-Germanic immigrations from the east are considered less important than the population and civilization of Europe from Africa.

That so little is positively known of the neolithic period is a limitation recognized clearly enough, even by the author. The reader cannot forget either the tendency of modern scientists to ascribe resemblances between human remains as well as plant and animal life in widely separated regions, to independent growth on parallel lines rather than to actual relationship. The idea is nevertheless very interesting.

On page 176 of his "Christianity, Islam and Negro Race," Blyden quotes Volney, the noted French traveler, thus:

When I visited the Sphinx, I could not help thinking the figure of that monster furnished the true solution of the enigma. When I saw its features, precisely those of a Negro, I recollected the remarkable passage of Herodotus in which he says, "for my part I believe the Colchi to be a colony of Egyptians, because like them they have frizzled hair, that is, that the ancient Egyptians were real Negroes of the same species with all the natives of Africa."

Gibbons gives an account of how the Nobatæ, a Negro tribe, were persuaded by the Emperor Diocletian of Rome to guard the frontiers of the Roman Empire and hold in check the Blemnyes, an Egyptian tribe. In his "Fall and Decline of the Roman Empire," chapter 13, 29-A, Gibbons says:

With a view of opposing to the Blemnyes a suitable adversary, Diocletian persuaded the Nobatæ a people of Nubia to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libia, and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable territory above Syene and the Cataracts of the Nile, with the stipulation that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the Empire.

Later the Nobatæ and Blemnyes intermingled and intermarried.

#### THE NEGRO IN THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

Rawlinson, on page 103 of Vol. II of his "History of Ancient Egypt," says of Pepi, who reigned about 3700 B. C. according to the chronology of Keane:

His first levies were made in the north among the native Egyptians; but looking upon the forces thus raised as insufficient he determined to obtain the strength that he deemed requisite by calling on the negro tribes of the south to furnish him with a contingent. The date at which these tribes were made subject to Egypt is uncertain, but it was clearly before the time of Pepi; and his power over them was so completely established that he had only to demand troops and they were furnished.

Thus, in the Sixth Egyptian Dynasty, about 5,600 years ago, the Negro had won such a reputation as a fighter that Pepi, Egypt's first warrior king, pressed black soldiers into service. Thus we see that in the very dawn of history the Negro was exhibiting his martial qualities.

#### PROFESSOR CHAMBERLAIN'S CONCLUSION.

I cannot better conclude my study of Africa than by again quoting from Professor Alexander Francis Chamberlain's article upon "The Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization," published in the *Journal of Race Development* in April, 1911. Professor Chamberlain brilliantly masses and marshals the facts of the native African's achievements in state building, commerce, domesticating animals, in art, music, and his priority in iron-smelting. As a whole, his article is the best defense and vindication of the Negro that has appeared since Abbe Gregoire wrote his famous Enquiry a century ago. Professor Chamberlain says:

Now let us turn more particularly to achievements of race en masse. In comparing the achievements of the African Negroes with those of the European and Asiatic whites, it must be remembered that the latter have had continuously the advantage of the best possible environment in the world, and the former as continuously the disadvantage of the worst. In other words, the whites have been notably bonused by nature at the start, and the number and character of historical experiences which they must inevitably have undergone, quite regardless of their intellectual or other endowments, have been entirely in their favor.

The tremendous effect of a favorable environment is seen in the history of the white race in the region of the Mediterranean. Europe, Asia and Africa have furnished there examples of culture of a high grade in which all varieties of the so-called Caucasian type seem to have participated. Indeed, any people, sufficiently numerous to have established somewhat large fixed communities, was reasonably sure of being an important member of the Mediterranean series of great cities, kingdoms, empires, etc., and of being remembered for something of value in the civilization which the world has inherited from the nations of the Mediterranean

past and present. From prehistoric times to our own day and generation, one race only, the Negro, by reason, probably, of being cut off by desert or sea, during a long period of its existence, and therefore secluded in Africa beyond the "thin line" of the white race on the north, seems never to have intruded into the Mediterranean area (or to have settled there in any locality) in sufficiently large numbers to have undergone the same historical experience, and to have submitted to the same genial influences of environment so stimulating to the other races, which, in that region reached so remarkable a stage of social, political, religious and intellectual evolution. Out of the coming and going of peoples in the Mediterranean area, from the necessities of intercommunication among its innumerable centers of culture, arose things, which the more or less monotonous and secluded African land areas seemed not to suggest or to demand. Thus the appearance of the alphabet was as natural in the Mediterranean region at a comparatively early period as it was improbable and unexpected in prehistoric Negroland. So, too, the very same phenomena permitted an earlier disappearance from white civilization of many ideas and institutions, the retention of which among the African Negroes is more a natural result of their seclusion than an index of their intelligence. Such causes and factors of the retardation of Negro culture as slavery, polygamy, the belief in witchcraft, etc., are among these. Here, again, we must be just in our denunciation of these evils. Our own escape from the institution of slavery is still too recent to make us very honest boasters (and less than ten years ago we gave it a new lease of life under our flag in the Sulu Islands). The vagaries of mental healing in twentieth century America but too often suggest something quite like the ideas of the uncivilized African. And, are we quite sure that the honest simultaneous polygamy of Nigeria is so much less moral than the dishonest successive polygamy that coruscates from Reno, Nevada?

#### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

That some of the Negro people of Africa possess actual genius for social and political organization has been demonstrated again and again, particularly in the Sudan (both before and after Arab influence), and among the Bantu peoples further to the south. An opinion long held in certain quarters that these developments of Negro civilization were entirely due to the Arab and Mohammedan influences of the period beginning with about 750 A. D., and to earlier Egyptian and Semitic contacts, can no longer be sustained. That there has been at the bottom of them a basis of real Negro culture is now apparent from the archeological and ethnological researches of German, French and English investigators in the Sahara, the Sudan and West Africa. What a few travelers at the close of the Middle Ages reported they had seen has been confirmed by unimpeachable evidence. "Negro culture" is now no more to be denied than the existence of the pigmies, which once rested almost solely on the statements of Herodotus. The very recent investigations and

studies of Desplagnes, von Luschan, Frobenius, Weule, etc., are adding more and more to the culture phenomena, which the Negroes may be said themselves to have originated, or having borrowed from other people, to have skilfully adapted or improved for their own uses. Back of the stone figures of Sherbro, the megaliths of the Gambia, the bronzes of Benin, and other little-known aspects of West African art and architecture, as well as behind the organized political developments in the Sudan, etc., lie things that are not easily to be explained as merely waifs from Egypt or later unintentional gifts from the white race. Here, again, the view may open wide and far. Frobenius, who believes that a Negro culture of a rather high type once existed in West Africa, christens it "Atlantic," and is inclined to think that the Egyptian and Mediterranean legends immortalized in the "Atlantis" of Plato may have had a very real foundation in distorted accounts or forgotten memories of this African culture, which some day may have its Odyssey corroborated as Schliemann did for Troy. And West Africa is the real Negro country from which so many of the slave ancestors of the Afro-Americans were stolen away. Liberia, too, lies in this land, and her hopes of the future ought to be touched by some reflection from the great past.

Long before the Mohammedan advent, kings and empires existed in Negro Africa. It seems, too, that, subsequently, when the first rush of Arab contact was over, the pure Negro element again came into control in many cases and carried on indigenous culture, with the skilful adaptation of foreign elements, to still higher stages of development. The comparison of Negro Africa with contemporary Medieval Europe is most interesting and convincing here. The sociological and political phenomena in both regions of the globe at that time are strikingly similar. Parallels for the feudal system, the rise and development of the judiciary, the evolution of international law, the rôle of the market and the fair, and many other things could as well be studied in the one as in the other. The rise of innumerable small states and their ultimate consolidation into large kingdoms and extensive empires are equally characteristic of both. Negro Africa, too, at this period, and since then also, has in like manner produced kings and political organizers, who have been men of genius, possessing great personalities, and ranking in character and ability with the princes and sovereigns of Europe at the time. Such, e. g., were the men who ruled the great kingdoms and empires of the Sudan, some of which lasted down to the middle of the 19th century, when the European mass-contact with this part of the Dark Continent practically began. If anyone really wants to know (to use the words of Dr. F. Boas) "what the Negro kingdoms of Ghana and Songhai, the Empire of Lunda, Bornu, the Kingdom of Katsena, etc., were, let him read of the great cities in Negro Africa, such as Engornu (in Bornu) and Timbuktu, etc., with their from 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants; Kana in Hausa-land, etc. Barth, the German traveler, who visited this part of Negro Africa in 1851-1855, has left on record his impressions of

its civilization and of the men who created and sustained it. Men like King Askia of Songhai and Bello, the Sultan of Katsena, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Sudan," deserve rank among the great figures of the world's history. They are the undeniable proof that the Negro race is thoroughly human in its ability to produce men of genius. In personal character, in administrative ability, in devotion to the welfare of his subjects, in open-mindedness towards foreign influences, and in wisdom in the adoption of non-Negro ideas and institutions, King Askia, who ruled over Songhai in the early part of the sixteenth century, was certainly the equal of the average European monarchs of the time, and the superior of many of them. Among the Bantu people of South Africa, e. g., the Zulus, etc., great capacity for survival by means of political and social organization has been shown in some cases and also considerable advance toward the ultimate creation of a Christian Negro nation at some time in the future. One of the Bantu peoples, the Ovampo, has already proceeded so far along the road to self-government, after our own ideas, that it has got rid of its old line of hereditary kings and set up a sort of republic.

#### COMMERCE, ETC.

At the period of early contact with the whites, the great skill and finesse of the African Negroes in matters of trade were constantly in evidence and became a thing to be described epigrammatically in proverbs, one of which ran to the effect that a Negro could beat a Jew or an Armenian. And in the chronicles of the period of European advance, we meet frequently the question, what will happen "if the blacks get full possession of our culture," seeing they can already outdo us with their own? It has been said epigrammatically on this point that "the African's weakness is not in getting wealth, but in keeping it." The institution of the market and the fair, e. g., among the Negro peoples of the Sudan, and the development out of it of the village, the town and the city, are one of the most interesting phenomena in all the history of human culture. Among the questions involved in the evolution of the market and the fair are: the greater share of women in public and semi-public activities; the breaking down of the narrowness of mere tribal boundaries and clan-instincts, consequent upon the gathering together of so many people at repeated intervals; the movement toward abolition of war through the institution of the market-place and the prohibition of all hostile acts during the time of prevalence of fairs, markets, etc.; the amalgamation of peoples resulting from the ultimately permanent character of these markets and fairs, and the absorption of those conducting them more or less into the general population by the consolidation of the temporary city without the walls with the old city within them; the influence upon the general honesty and morality of the community of the increasing importance of the right of asylum, the protection of the stranger within and without the gates, the necessity of honest weights

and measures; and the autonomy of the market, the market-tax with its corollary of protection or free-trade; the question of the laborer and his hire; the market-holiday and its relations to religious and other festivals and ceremonial occasions, etc. Indeed, as one looks over the long list of questions here at issue, one sees that practically no question that is at present a matter of discussion among ourselves, or has been such in the progress of our civilization, can be mentioned, which has not been involved in the commercial and the economic development of Negro Africa.

#### DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.

Africa is undoubtedly the home of the wild ancestors of several species of domestic animals and likewise the continent which saw the first shaping of some of them under the hands of man. And it is quite reasonable to suppose that in certain cases the beginnings of such domestication are to be traced to the Negro peoples, whose achievements in this field were added to and given wide extension by the Egyptians, especially, and by the races of other lineage who took part in the civilizations of the Mediterranean and of Western Asia. Cattle-keeping and cattle-breeding is an art ancient and now widespread in Negro Africa. With some tribes cattle have entered into the economic and the ideal life of the people as has the horse, or the sheep with certain Semitic and Aryan nations, and, as with them, given a distinct color and tone to language and literature. The skill attained by some of the Bantu tribes in the maintenance and the utilization of domestic cattle is remarkable. Cattle-milking, an accomplishment, which is far from being universally human, either in the individual or in the race, is old in parts of Negroland. And here it is worth noting that a civilization as ancient and as important as that of China has not yet been added to its common factors of economic survival the dairy and its attendant developments. And the same might be said of the younger civilization of the Japanese, as it could also have been said of more than one of the ancient civilizations of the Occident, whose range of culture did not include the employment of the milk of the cow in human economy. The milk-using African would have stood in the classification of Lippert, the German culture-historian who maintained, though quite mistakenly, that the use of the milk of domestic animals was the *sine qua non* of qualification for the higher reaches of human civilization. But some of the black Africans have done more than drink milk fresh from the cow. The Hereros, e. g., who well illustrate the development of individuality from a basis of pastoral culture, as Dehérain informs us, "live upon sour milk," having thus anticipated the ideas of Metchnikof, the Russian biologist and author of a theory of longevity. Perhaps, if they had first heard of its virtues from the Hereros, our patriotic American Negrophobes might have declined to have anything whatever to do with it. And maybe the Herero dietarians are justified in ascribing to their favorite food the strength and the skill exhibited by them in their revolt a few years

ago against the German authorities in Southwest Africa. In the field of the domestication of animals and their utilization in human economics the Negro has done enough to entitle him to both the gratitude and the admiration of mankind. Indeed, some have gone so far as to maintain with A. von Frantzius, who in 1878 discussed this topic in the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, that Africa was the home of the cow and the Negro its domesticator. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that the black man is well qualified to have been such.

#### ART, ETC.

Far from possessing no art, the African Negroes have created some of the most beautiful art objects to be found in any museum in the wide world. We have not yet, as Dr. Boas has pointed out, in this country a museum to illustrate fully and adequately the art of the native Africans, but in several of the European museums, these are admirably, if not exhaustively, represented. Dr. Frobenius, in his study of African civilizations, says: "The real African need by no means resort to the rags and tatters of bygone European splendor. He has precious ornaments of his own, of ivory and feathers, fine plaited willowware and weapons of superior workmanship. Nothing more beautiful for instance, can be imagined than an iron club carefully wound round with strips of metal, the handle covered with snakeskin." And Dr. Boas has recently called attention to the "dainty basketry" of the Congo and the Nile Lakes, the "grass mats of most beautiful patterns" made by some of the Negro tribes, and "the beautiful iron weapons of Central Africa, which excel in symmetry of form, and many of which bear elaborate designs inlaid in copper, and are of admirable workmanship." The famous bronzes of Benin, about which there has recently been so much discussion, have, perhaps, been stimulated in form and in the figures designed by Portuguese and Hindu art, but they "are far superior in technique to any European work (Boas)," and their existence indicates an artistic past for certain regions of West Africa hitherto quite unsuspected.

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, ETC.

While the question of our musical instruments is as yet far from being satisfactorily settled, it would be strange indeed if so musical a race as the African Negroes had had nothing to do with their origin or their development. Negro Africa possesses many varieties of drums, and of stringed instruments akin to the harp and the violin, etc. Indeed all stages necessary for the development of the harp from the simplest form to the instrument as we find it among the ancient Egyptians previous to its dispersal over Asia and Europe are to be met with on African soil, and the attribution of its invention to some Negro people is quite reasonable on the evidence in hand. And the same thing, with somewhat less certainty, perhaps may be said of the violin. In the characteristically African marimba, or xylophone, we may have the beginnings



of the piano and closely related musical instruments, in which case, one of its names, "the Negro piano," assumes a significance. The "pot drum," so-called, and perhaps another variety or two of that instrument, originated also in Negro Africa. The goura of certain South Africa peoples is a curious musical instrument which still awaits adoption or modification by civilized man.

#### IRON SMELTING, ETC.

The *ars artium*, however, of Negro Africa is the use of iron. The question of the origin of the art of iron smelting is now being treated in detail by ethnologists, and, while general agreement has not been reached, the mass of evidence so far disclosed has convinced eminent men of science like Boas and von Luschan that the smelting of iron was first discovered by the African Negroes, from whom, by way of Egypt and Asia Minor, this art made its way into Europe and the rest of the Old World. Among the arguments in favor of this view are the fact that, at the time of the contact of the African Negroes with white men for the first time, iron smelting was common and wide-spread among them, the work of the smith having almost everywhere reached a somewhat high degree of perfection; the evidence is the hieroglyphic record and elsewhere in ancient Egypt of the derivation of iron from the south at a comparatively late stage of civilization; and the comparative lateness also of its appearance in the ancient cultures of Asia, the Mediterranean region and northern and Occidental Europe. It should check our racial pride a little to consider the possibility, perhaps, rather, the certainty, that "at a time when our own ancestors still utilized stone implements or, at best, when bronze implements were first introduced, the negro had developed the art of smelting iron," and that "his race has contributed more than any other to the early development of the iron industry" (Boas). And, when we remember all that the discovery and utilization of iron has meant for human civilization, it should bring the blush of shame to our cheeks to learn from the public prints that, when the great iron-master of Pittsburgh, the foremost of American phil-anthropists, visited the city of Atlanta, Ga., to see the result of his labors, he was ostentatiously shown all over one library over whose threshold no Negro may ever pass, while his hosts in their automobile hurried him by the door of the other his money had erected "for black men only."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### *Sergi's Theory in His Own Words.*

In his preface to "The Mediterranean Race," Sergi says:

The conclusions I have sought to maintain are the following:

(1) The primitive populations of Europe, after *Homo Neanderthalensis*, originated in Africa; these constituted the entire population of Neolithic times.

(2) The basin of the Mediterranean was the chief center of movement whence the African migrations reached the center and the north of Europe.

(3) From the great African stock were formed three varieties, in accordance with the differing telluric and geographic conditions: one peculiarly *African*, remaining in the continent where it originated; another the *Mediterranean*, which occupied the basin of that sea; and a third, the *Nordic*, which reached the north of Europe. These three varieties are the three great branches of one *species*, which I call *Eurafrican*, because it occupied, and still occupies, a large portion of the two continents of Africa and Europe.

(4) These three human varieties have nothing in common with the so-called Aryan races; it is an error to maintain that the Germans and the Scandinavians, blond dolichiocephals or long heads (of the Reihengräber and Viking types), are Aryans; they are Eurafricans of the Nordic variety.

(5) The Aryans are of Asiatic origin, and constitute a variety of the *Eurasiatic species*; the physical characters of their skeletons are different from those of the Eurafricans.

(6) The primitive civilization of the Eurafricans is Afro-Mediterranean, becoming eventually Afro-European.

(7) The Mycenæan Civilization had its origin in Asia, and was transformed by diffusion in the Mediterranean.

(8) The two classic civilizations, Greek and Latin, were not Aryan, but Mediterranean. The Aryans were savages when they invaded Europe; they destroyed in part the superior civilization of the Neolithic populations, and could not have created the Greco-Latin civilization.

(9) In the course of the Aryan invasions the languages of the Eurafrican species in Europe were transformed in Italy, Greece and elsewhere, Celtic, German, Slavonic, etc., being genuine branches of the Aryan tongue; in other cases the Aryan languages underwent a transformation, preserving some elements of the conquered tongue, as in the Neo-Celtic of Wales.

In his opening chapter of this work Sergi says:

## THE EARLY PHASE.

Page 1: Whenever there has been any attempt to explain the origin of civilization and of the races called Aryan, whether in the Mediterranean or in Central Europe, all archæologists, linguists, and anthropologists have until recent years been dominated by the conviction that both civilization and peoples must have their unquestionable cradle in Asia. It is well known that this conviction has been largely determined by the discovery of Sanscrit, which has served as a foundation for the comparative study of the languages called Aryan, Indo-European and also Indo-Germanic. . . .

Page 2: Anthropology, meanwhile, investigating the physical characters of European peoples, though without studying them deeply or completely, made it clear that between ancient Italians, Greeks, Celts, Germans and Slavs there were profound and characteristic differences which showed clearly that they could not all belong together to the same human root; that there might be linguistic relationship without blood relationship, and that various peoples might have a common civilization without having a common origin. . . .

. . . I believe that I am in the right, since my opinion is founded on anthropological and historical data, when I affirm that at their origin the Germans were not a distinct people from the Celts or from the Slavs, with both of whom they were always united and often confused. The Franks of the fifth century were a northern people, less mixed in earlier times, and hence appearing somewhat more uniform in the graves of the Rhine district at a rather late epoch.

## ALLEGED HOMERIC EVIDENCE.

Page 12: These brief considerations seem to me to be sufficient to show that since it is difficult to find the Germans in their own home we cannot expect to find them as an Aryan stock in Greece and Italy, subjugating the dark populations and creating the two great Mediterranean civilizations, Hellenic and Latin, also called Aryan; still less can we connect them with the more ancient Mycenæan or Ægean civilization, as it is to-day called. The disappearance of the Germanic type among the Mediterranean populations, assumed by Penka, is a necessity imposed by the fact that this type is sought in vain, where it is supposed to have dominated, except as a sporadic element easy to explain through the course of ages by the immigration of races or families or individuals.

Page 21: I would add that a race cannot even be said to be physically superior if it is unable to resist the mild climate of the Mediterranean, but disappears as required by Penka's theory.

Page 20: I could bring forward a wealth of facts to show that what I have just stated regarding the anthropological characters of the Homeric gods and heroes, may also be said, and with more reason, of the

types of Greek and Roman statuary which, though in the case of divinities they may be conventionalized, do not in the slightest degree recall the features of a northern race; in the delicacies of the cranial and facial forms, in smoothness of surface, in the absence of exaggerated frontal bosses and supra-orbital arches, in the harmony of the curves, in the facial oval, in the rather low foreheads, they recall the beautiful and harmonious heads of the brown Mediterranean race.

Until recent years the Greeks and the Romans were regarded as Aryan and then as Aryanized peoples; the great discoveries in the Mediterranean have overturned all these views. To-day, although a few belated supporters of Aryanism still remain, it is becoming clear that the most ancient civilization of the Mediterranean is not of Aryan origin but the product of a stock composed of many consanguineous peoples, which occupied the Mediterranean from a common center of diffusion, through bearing different racial names. . . .

#### THE RACIAL NAMES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN FAMILY.

The Iberians gave its name to the great peninsula of the southwest of Europe, Spain with Portugal; the Ligurians under various names occupied various parts of Italy, joining the Iberians through southern France; the Pelasgians occupied the peninsula and islands of Greece, passed into Italy at different periods, and were diffused through Asia Minor under the obscure names of Khatti, Hethi, Chittim, Hittites; finally, the Libyans occupied northern Africa under various names, of which the most glorious was that of Egyptians.

Pages 35 and 36. Ever since I have been able to show that anthropological method should not be different from zoological method, I have chiefly turned my attention to the morphology of the skull as revealing those internal physical characters of human stocks which remain constant through long ages and at far remote spots.

. . . I have met with a fact that is at once surprising and curious, and that is that there exist about a dozen cranial forms, by me termed varieties, common alike to all the peoples called Iberian, Ligurian, the central Italic as well as the southern and insular Italic region, the Greek peoples, Asia Minor, ancient Egypt, and all northern Africa now occupied by the Berbers and Kabyles. Other cranial varieties with less numerous characters are also found in the regions mixed with the first-mentioned varieties; they appear to be foreign racial elements that have mingled with the other throughout the Mediterranean basin.

The cranial morphology of the Mediterranean family in its four chief branches—Iberians, Ligurians, Pelasgians, Libyans—and their minor disjoined branches, possesses special characters, clearly distinct from that of the peoples of the center and east of Europe; my analysis and the nomenclature I have adopted for cranial forms enable us to recognize them in whatever part of the world we may meet them, so special and early distinguishable are their characters. . . .

Page 39: The ancient skulls of continental and insular Italy, and the persistence of their forms in the modern population, wherever it has been preserved, the skulls of the Iberian peninsula, of Greece, of ancient Egypt, then those of the rest of northern Africa and of the Canary Islands, all revealed by their constant uniformity, and the uninterrupted succession of the same forms, that they must necessarily belong to a single stock.

But that original stock could not have its cradle in the basin of the Mediterranean, a basin more fitted for the confluence of peoples and for their active development; the cradle whence they dispersed in many directions was more probably in Africa.

#### HAMITES OF AFRICA.

##### *I. Eastern Branch:—*

1. Ancient and modern Egyptians (Copts, Fellaheen), excluding the Arabs.
2. Nubians, Bejas.
3. Abyssinians.
4. Gallas, Danakil, Somalis.
5. Masai.
6. Waluma or Watusi.

##### *II. Northern Branch:—*

1. Berbers of Mediterranean, Atlantic and Sahara.
2. Tebus or Tubus.
3. Fulahs or Fulbés.
4. Guanches of the Canaries.

Page 95: An argument which seems decisive in favor of the opinion that the Egyptians were a new race of immigrants, conquering the Libyan race, regarded as that of neolithic civilization, is found in their writing, which had no existence among the Tibyans. . . . Now it is true that the Libyans possessed only linear alphabetic signs, as we may see by Petrie's plates and the examples given by De Morgan; but it is well to recall also that these signs, called by their discoverers "marks," without having any alphabetical significance attributed to them, are really writing signs, many of which still remain in the alphabet of the Tuaregs, as Evans has shown. They may be brought into line with the pre-Phœnician writing of the Mediterranean and pre-neolithic of other parts of Europe, as I shall show later on. We cannot, therefore, affirm that the Libyans had no writing in the general significance of the word.

Page 100: If we turn to consider the Egyptian language, I believe that everything favors an African origin. . . . While also in Arabia where the source of the Egyptian stock is sought, there is not the slightest indication of any Hamitic language or dialect, in Africa not only is ancient Egyptian Hamitic but so are a whole series of languages spoken by numerous populations to the south of Europe and the west, through

the Sahara to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, as I have shown when dealing with the Hamitic stock in Africa.

Page 112: On these grounds the conviction has grown in my mind that there is no difference of race between the historical Egyptians and the men who preceded them, the so-called Proto-Egyptians of Evans, and Morgan's "old race." Both alike belong to the Mediterranean stock, and are of African origin.

Page 143: I have concluded that primitive Europe received its population in large part from Africa; as regards the Canaries, we may conclude with still greater reason that the primitive population migrated from Africa, and constituted the last expansion of African immigration towards the west. This is confirmed by the ethnology, and especially by the linear writing of the so-called Libyan type. The brachycephals constituted a foreign element of unknown origin.

Pages 144 and 150: The Hittites constituted a pre-Phœnician and pre-Hellenic power in the Eastern Mediterranean. . . . I am convinced that the primitive population of Lycia and the rest of Asia Minor, as also of Syria, is of the same type as the Egyptian, and derived from the same center of diffusion. This primitive population constituted the Hittite nation, which, in this case, could not have been Turanian, as Wright and Sayce believe, nor of brachycephalic Armenoid type, as Luschan argues.

Page 156: The skulls [of the Phœnicians] do not differ from the types prevalent in the Mediterranean, and characteristic of the stock there dominant.

On these grounds I believe that the Phœnicians belonged to the same stock in which are included the Egyptians and other Libyan peoples, and the Hamites of Africa and Europe generally, but that at a relatively late period they underwent Semitic influence, especially in language, their anthropological origin being thus concealed. Such a phenomenon is not new, the modern Egyptians themselves furnishing an evident example of it.

Page 172: The element of truth in all these alleged relations between Hellenic, Egyptian, Phœnician, and Libyan cults is that we need not seek the origins of Greek religion in India, in the primitive beliefs of the so-called Indo-Europeans, but in the Mediterranean itself, partly in the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, by Asiatic and Egyptian intermediaries. . . .

When the new Indo-European element appeared, the primitive European peoples of the Mediterranean were subjected to a process of transformation [they were amalgamated]; Egypt, which possessed a very ancient and solid civilization, maintained itself for a long time; the Libyans of North Africa remained as they were; the Pelasgians were decomposed under Hellenic influence; the Ligurians and Iberians were changed by the Roman power. It would be an error, however, to believe that a numerous Aryan population emigrated from Asia or North Europe and occu-

pied the Mediterranean basin, destroying the previous populations. The Hellenic stock which changed Pelasgia into Greece, importing a new language and a new civilization, was a small nucleus which increased by aggregation with the primitive inhabitants, the Pelasgians, as Herodotus expressly states: "the Greek stock, separated from the Pelasgic, was weak and small in number at first; it increased by means of many other barbarous and numerous stocks." Thus it is that any one to-day who studies the racial elements of Greece and Latin Italy necessarily finds that the primitive elements of the Mediterranean prevail in greatest amount, varying in different regions; the Indo-European or Aryan elements are very rare.

The general result is that the Pelasgians had their chief seat—after the emigration from Africa, and probably from Egypt, before the great Egyptian civilization was established—in the eastern Mediterranean, and chiefly in the Greek peninsula, the whole of the Greek archipelago, and in Western Asia. . . .

We have evident proof that the Pelasgians were a branch of the Mediterranean family in the study and comparison of ancient and modern skulls in Greece and its islands, and also in Italy. The Asiatic invasions, from whatever direction they came, produced mingling of race, but no alteration of type in the ancient inhabitants.

Pages 176-179: We have found that Italy was inhabited up to the neolithic epoch by a homogeneous population of Mediterranean stock, who were afterwards called the Ligurians and the Pelasgians; that toward the end of the neolithic period, in a period called by the Italian archæologists *Æneolithic*, because we already begin to find the use of pure copper, there is the first indication of intrusion of a new race with physical characters (brachycephaly) unlike those of the Mediterranean peoples; and that finally there was a large invasion of this new race from the north, leading to the occupation of a considerable part of the Po valley, and constituting a vast Umbrian domain, after passing the Apennines, from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhine Sea, as far as Latium, and from there to the Tiber towards its mouth and lower part.

We have also seen that these invaders carried with them a new language and new customs, among others that of burning the dead. . . .

Hence I believe that archæologists are in error when they continue to regard the *Italic*i as above all Aryans; as also are the linguists in persisting to affirm the existence of a primitive racial Greco-Italic group, with pre-formed and reconstituted languages, which, after being first united, was divided into two portions, one invading Italy, the other Greece, bearing a higher civilization, and languages already existing in the form of Greek and Latin. . . .

Thus I affirm that the *Italic*i, of Mediterranean origin, were forced through violent invasion to adopt the Aryan language, as also, for some time as far as Central Italy, they were subjugated by Aryan dominion, until the development of new elements of Mediterranean civilization

changed the course of events. Then the customs which Aryan dominion had caused to disappear begun to flourish again; thus cremation ceased, or only remained as a survival among the few.

The language assumed its own proper physiognomy when Rome united beneath its power the various Italic regions; before that dominion it had been a series of heterogeneous forms due to the varying influence of surviving primitive dialects and the varying effects of Aryan influence.

The physical characters of the Etruscans were thus of the Mediterranean type; they were the true and genuine Italici; and as others have also maintained, they belong to the Belasgic branch.

Page 185: The true and permanent Etruscan influence was that of the civilization taken as a whole, both as the point of departure for the future Latin civilization, and also as an expansion of the civilization of the eastern Mediterranean in Italy and towards Central and Northern Europe.

#### THE END OF THE DIFFUSION AND THE NEW INVADERS OF EUROPE.

Pages 241-246: The stock, originating in Africa, which I call Mediterranean, because in the Mediterranean it develops its aptitudes and civilizations, contributed without doubt, from primitive times till the late quarternary period, to the population of the whole Mediterranean and of many other regions of Europe, as I have shown in the preceding pages. It is evident traces are found in the dolmens and caves of France, in the Long Barrows of Great Britain, at Casa da Moura and Mugem in the Iberian peninsula, in the neolithic graves of Switzerland, in many tumuli in Russia, and even as far as the Canaries. All these have yielded typical skulls, showing the same characters found in the Mediterranean populations, whether Iberian, Ligurian, Pelasgian, or Egyptian, and allied to those of East Africa. Moreover, there still exist whole Mediterranean populations which, in spite of mingling with other peoples and of historical vicissitudes, still preserve their primitive racial elements.

Towards the end of the neolithic period, and after the first and pacific appearance of the Asiatic tribes which insinuated themselves in the midst of the early inhabitants, a great anthropological change took place in Europe, affecting even the Mediterranean, although in a slight degree. A new and different stock, strong and numerous, advanced from the east and spread through the center, west and south of Europe, overflowing the primitive stock, in many regions succeeding in displacing it, in others in subjugating it. This stock, being of Asiatic origin, I call Eurasiatic, on account of its diffusion in Asia, its place of origin, and in Europe where it succeeded in dominating the entire population.

This new stock is, by its physical characters, visible and distinguishable in English burial-places, especially the Round Barrows, as has been shown by Thurnam and other English anthropologists; it is also seen in France, whence it seems to have passed over to the British Isles. In France, the Celts, a branch of the new stock, drove back the Iberian tribes, . . . while other Celtic factions penetrated Spain, and others advanced into the



valley of the Rhone and mixed with the Iberians and Ligurians. In Savoy and in Switzerland they supplanted the primitive population, and achieved nearly as much in the Po valley, confining the primitive Ligurian inhabitants within the present narrow region of Liguria at the foot of the Apennines.

At the same time these Asiatic invaders, afterwards receiving the racial names of Germans and Slavs, spread into Germany, Bohemia, the valley of the Danube, extending into the Balkan peninsula, and as far as Asia Minor. It was at this period that Scandinavia was peopled, for the primitive inhabitants of the European continent were driven towards the north by the new invaders, reaching the Baltic Sea and thence the Scandinavian peninsula. Here the remains of the ancient stock of African origin are very numerous, even more so than in northern Germany. Here also they acquired a special physiognomy well known to-day as peculiar to the Swedish and Norwegian populations. . . .

Italy, as I have said, except in the Po valley, remained as in primitive times, few new elements being introduced into its stock; the population of the center, the south and the islands, although containing elements of Asiatic origin, was not changed because the elements that prevailed are still primitive, a composition of the various branches—Iberian and Ligurian, Pelasgian and Libyan—of the African or Mediterranean stock. The Iberian peninsula may also boast that its old stock is preponderant. In Greece and Asia Minor the concourse of foreign elements was much greater, while Egypt, in spite of the afflux of many peoples, still preserves much of its old stock. The rest of Africa has undergone mixture, even very recently, but its new elements are mostly of Arabian and very seldom of Asiatic origin.

#### GENERAL PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF MEDITERRANEAN RACE.

Pages 248 and 249: In another work I have described at length those African populations which, by the language which many of them speak or have spoken, are called Hamitic; these mingle with the African Mediterranean populations, described in this work, which belong to the stock that for some time past I have called Mediterranean. The area of geographical distribution of these African populations is immense, for it reaches from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, from the equator and even beyond the equator, to the Mediterranean. In this vast area we find, when we exclude racial mixtures, that the physical characters of the skeleton, as regards head and face, are uniform, but that the physical characters of skin and intermediate parts, that is to say the development and form of the soft parts, vary. This uniformity of the cranio-facial skeletal characters, which I consider the guiding thread in anthropological research, has led me to regard as a single human stock all the varieties distributed in the area already mentioned. In the varying cutaneous coloration I see an effect of temperature, of climate, of alimentation, and of the manner of life.

Page 252: It is in the cranial and facial forms that lead us to accept the consanguinity of the African Hamites, of red-brown and black color, with the Mediterranean peoples; the same characters reveal the consanguinity of the primitive inhabitants of Europe, and of their remains in various regions and among various peoples, with the populations of the Mediterranean and hence also with the Hamites of Africa. . . .

Now, as regards coloration, we may admit, as I have already admitted, as regards the difference between the Mediterranean people and those of east and equatorial Africa, that it is the result of many external conditions. Temperature is one, and perhaps the chief of these conditions; for when we consider the residence of a population during many thousand years—that is, from the quaternary epoch to the neolithic and onwards—in a climate where thermal action is weak, we must agree that a kind of albinism would be produced, and hence a decoloration of pigment in all parts of the body, especially in the skin and its appendages. . . .

We may therefore conclude that as a residence under the equator has produced the red-brown and black coloration of the stock, and residence in the Mediterranean the brown color, so northern Europe has given origin to white skin, blond hair and blue or gray eyes. . . .

Certainly stature is a character which cannot be passed over in the classification of races; but it is not a primary character which can destroy the value of other characters which already possess an unquestionable importance.

Page 259: The Eurafrican species thus falls into three races: the African with red-brown and black pigmentation; the Mediterranean, of brunette complexion, inhabiting the great basin including part of northern Africa, formerly occupying Asia Minor, the three great peninsulas of Europe, the Mediterranean islands, and the Canaries, as well as a portion of western, central and eastern Europe, now difficult to determine; finally, a Nordic race, of blond skin and hair, blue or grey eyes, most numerous represented in Scandinavia, North Germany and England.

#### THE EURASIATIC SPECIES. THE NEOLITHIC BRACHYCEPHALS.

Page 263: These invaders were savages, inferior to the neolithic Europeans, whose civilization they in large part destroyed, replunging Europe into barbarism, also introducing the new burial custom of cremation, together with other customs, which it is not necessary to investigate here, and transforming the existing languages into their own, which was a flexional language. To-day this new anthropological family, which also constitutes a zoological unit, bears three chief names, indicating three characteristic linguistic groups—that is to say, Celts, Germans and Slavs.

Page 273: In my opinion, as already expressed elsewhere [in *Asia Italici*], these prehistoric artists who possessed such developed artistic feelings are the precursors of the historical artists who created the marvelous works of Egypt, Greece and Rome. And if it is true, as I have sought to

show, that a stock coming from Africa was diffused during quarternary times throughout the Mediterranean and all over Europe, and that this stock, by me now classified as the Eurafrian species, continued its existence into neolithic times, and later in the successive ages of metal, it is to this stock that we must attribute these artistic manifestations, which were afterwards to assume such marvelous forms and to reach their height in the classic art of the Mediterranean. This conviction has grown within me as I have observed the constant convergence of physical characters among the primitive inhabitants of these regions, and belief in this unity of the stock is confirmed by the persistent artistic tendency, which it has shown even in epochs so remote.

In fact, the discoveries of Petrie, of Amélineau and of De Morgan show that prehistoric Egypt was not influenced by any oriental civilization, as many authors have been inclined to believe. . . . The historical Egyptian civilization is a continuation and a development of the prehistoric, so that there is no need to assume an Asiatic immigration. Certainly we cannot absolutely exclude all relations with Asia, on account of the proximity of Egypt to that region, but the prehistoric civilization of Egypt is purely Libyan and in comparison with contemporary European civilization very developed, as may be seen by its products and by the exquisitely worked flints.

Page 279: Cyprus was the center of diffusion of copper and then of bronze throughout the Mediterranean and Europe generally . . . explorers like Ohnefalsch-Richter and Myres, have been able to show the contemporaneous existence, at least in part, of the copper age in Cyprus, with the late neolithic period in other regions; as likewise it seems to be shown that the primitive types of axes came from this island, and were diffused throughout the Mediterranean and Europe.

The civilization which I have termed Afro-Mediterranean and which might perhaps be better called indigenous Afro-European, was succeeded by more or less powerful Asiatic influences, until we reach a new type of civilization characterized by the art and architecture of the city and the acropolis, the so-called Mycenæan or Ægean civilization.

Page 282: It is very probable, therefore, that the eastern importers of Mycenæan civilization were the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, as Montelius supposes, united with other related peoples having no important racial names. As we have already seen, the Asiatic immigrants, Pelasgians or Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians, were not anthropologically foreign to the Mediterranean stock, nor to the primitive inhabitants of the Ægean Islands and the Peloponnesus, who were likewise Pelasgians. These already possessed a pre-Mycenæan civilization in common with the Mediterranean or Afro-Mediterranean civilization, and received from the new immigrants new elements of Pelasgic civilization transformed and evolved under Asiatic influences, probably Mesopotamian and Hittite.

We then meet with a phenomenon which it is important to note, and that is that this so-called Mycenæan civilization in the Ægean preserved

many of its oriental characters, so as to render its immediate derivation obvious, but when it spread towards the west and the north, in the Mediterranean and in Continental Europe, it began to lose many of these characters and to acquire others peculiar to the populations which adopted it; the oriental character thus diminished together with distance from the center of propagation. As the Mycenæan civilization spread in Italy and Spain its eastern character became attenuated, and still more as it spread through Central and Northern Europe.

#### WRITING.

Page 296: It remains to occupy ourselves with the alphabetiform linear writing, the first indications of which appeared at a very early time, anterior to the neolithic period.

These alphabetical signs are found on French dolmeus, found incised in clay vessels, in ivory tablets of Prehistoric Egypt and in cubes of earth and clay in the fourth city of Troy and in clay vessels in the Troad, and in many of the Trojan cities. . . . Characters called Phœnician are only a derivative form of the alphabetiform signs that appeared during prehistoric times in Africa. . . . The use of writing signs is thus very ancient in the Eurafrian species. . . . This supplies additional evidence as to the high development of civilization among the race of the Mediterranean basin. . . . At the time of the Asiatic invasions and immigrations they were at a higher level of civilization than the new people who submerged their civilization and plunged the primitive inhabitants into barbarism, until new germs arose in the Mediterranean and furnished the two great forms of Græco-Latin civilization.

From the history of primitive and prehistoric writing we may draw the same conclusion as from the history of culture or cultures of Mediterranean Europe; that is to say that this primitive civilization was in part of African origin, like the species itself, in part an Asiatic importation, the latter being later than the former, while the appearance of metals took place at Cyprus an island marked by its situation as the bridge to unite the eastern Mediterranean to western Asia, and also to form a connection with Egypt and the Ægean; by its mineral wealth Cyprus becomes a point to which the Asiatic west and the Mediterranean east alike flowed, a point at which the civilization of Asia accumulates, as well as that of the Mediterranean from Mycenæan to classic Hellenic times. . . .

The primitive populations of Italy were evidently of the Mediterranean stock, a Eurafrian variety, and the successive arrivals from the north were of Asiatic origin, Celto-Slavs, as they would to-day be called, or Proto-Celts and Proto-Slavs, . . . the Aryans who invaded Italy possessed brachycephalic heads of various shapes—spheroidal, sphenoidal, and phatycephalic—the other Aryans who spoke German or Slavonic must have possessed similar physical characters, if they were genuine Aryans. It would then be the case also that the real Germanic Aryans

were not those of the Reihengräber cephalic type, but those whose type was identical with that of the Slavs and the Celts.

Pages 307-309: "Italy, at the period of the Aryan invasion, must have possessed a language, doubtless with many dialects, having nothing in common with the Aryan tongues. If the stock occupying it from time immemorial was the Mediterranean, which, as I have shown, was divided into many peoples, including the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Iberians, the languages must have been of the same type as those spoken by Egyptians, Libyans and Iberians, that is to say, of what is called the Hamitic type, and very different in phonetic and morphological characters from the Aryan.

"Hence, it is natural to believe that the Aryans, who dominated the Italic populations in the Po valley and central Italy not only transformed the customs but also the languages. . . . The Aryan language when spoken by a people with another vocabulary, other phonetics, other flexions, another syntax, could not be preserved in its original forms and sounds; it had to undergo a transformation on the basis of a language with different characters. The special Aryan flexion had to undergo a particular alteration in the mouth of him who spoke it incorrectly and imperfectly. Hence, may be observed a phenomenon noted by linguists, the fragmentary character of flexion often so complete in other languages of Aryan type, and then a vocabulary different in great part from other Aryan vocabularies, whether Greek, Celtic or Germanic." Hence, I concluded generally that the languages of the Aryans transformed but did not destroy the languages spoken in Greece and Italy, and that both must have contained the two linguistic elements in different composition. . . .

Now, if it is true that the Mediterranean stock is an anthropological variety of the Eurafian species, if the Nordic is another variety of the same species, we have to admit that the languages of these two varieties must be of the same origin as the languages of the African varieties, belonging, that is to say, to the linguistic group called Hamitic.

Page 314 and 315: Certainly, however, it cannot but be true that the various languages of Aryan type have been formed under the influence of other languages, conquered, like the peoples who spoke them. My supposition is that the Latin languages show this phenomenon in a specially marked degree. . . . Latin is not a language which reached Italy in a beautiful and completed form, just as Italy was not entered by an Italic people speaking Latin; but Latin was formed in Italy itself, as well as all the languages related to Latin, fragmentary in phonetics and flexion. . . .

In the other languages called Indo-European this formation, so clear in the primitive Italic tongues, is perhaps less apparent; thus it may also be in Greek, in spite of the fulness of its forms, and in the Germanic tongues spoken by those populations, which, like the Italic and the Greek, underwent invasion and transformation in customs and languages. It

is necessary to seek for this vanished language from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, and we may thus also find, perhaps, the real cause of the phonetic transformations which now can be only accepted as facts. As the present populations of Europe are in varying proportions a compound of the old Eurafrican species and of the more recently arriving Eurasiatic species, which brought with it flexional languages of Aryan or Indo-European type, so also the languages which seem to be altogether Aryan have an archaic stratum, of Eurafrican origin, corresponding to the languages otherwise called Hamitic like Egyptian and Libyan.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### *Africa To-day—Augustus Keane, Professor Chamberlain and others on Africa.*

Although I devoted six chapters of this work to Africa and discussed questions upon ethnology, this book does not aim to exhaustively treat Africa and its inhabitants or to assume to be a treatise on ethnology. My aim rather is to present the evidence of civilization, which may be found amongst the pure or mixed Negroes of Africa. I only quote ancient or modern authorities upon ethnology to remove certain popular misconceptions regarding the physical and mental character of past and present peoples of Africa.

While the history of Africa is largely stationary, so far as making progress in the arts of civilization is concerned, we find powerful African nations, like the Mandingans, Songhays, Fulahs, Kanuri and Zulus, who dominated territories as large as the German Empire, nations like the Songhays, who extended for six hundred years, and nations like the Mandingans, whose supremacy lasted for over one thousand years, and then there were powerful chieftains and conquerors like Mansu Musa of the Mandingans, who went out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, with an army of 60,000 men, preceded by 500 slaves, each carrying a gold stick weighing fourteen pounds and bearing a total wealth of £4,000,000; Mohammed Askia of the Songhays, the African Charlemagne; Othman dan Fodiye, of the Fulahs, a religious teacher, who swept across Africa like a tidal wave, carrying the Koran in one hand and a sword in the other; Ali Gliajidani of Kanuri; Calemba, who brought the Ba-Luba up to a high standard of civilization, abolishing fetishism and cannibalism; Dingiswago, Chaka and Cetawayo, who turned Zululand into a modern Sparta and forged the Zulus into a formidable force which swept everything before it, even defeating the British and holding them at bay for a while, and Khamo the brave, civilized and enlightened king of the Bamangwato. And then there are the Basutos, a cultured and civilized people, the Songhays with their wonderful

market at Kano and the Kingdom of Bornu with its large market at Kuka, and its splendid military system.

As to the charge that the Negro tribes lose their individuality when they embrace Mohammedanism, Edward Blyden, the famous Negro philosopher and Arabic scholar, says in his "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race."

Notwithstanding the widespread progress of Mohammedanism in Africa, and though it has largely influenced the organic life of numerous tribes in the vast regions of the Soudan, yet the Arabs, who first introduced the religion, have never been allowed to obtain political ascendancy. None of the Nigritian tribes have ever abdicated their race individuality or parted with their idiosyncracies in embracing the faith of Islam. But, however, and wherever, it has been necessary, great Negro warriors have risen from the ranks of Islam, and, inspired by the teaching of the new faith, which merges all distinctions in one great brotherhood, have checked the arrogance of their foreign teachers, and have driven them, if at any time they affected the superiority based upon race, from their artificial ascendancy. In the early days of Islam, when the Moors from the north attempted to establish political supremacy in the Nigritian countries, there rose up a Negro statesman and warrior, Somi Heli Ischia and expelled the Moorish conquerors. He destroyed the ecclesiastical strongholds, which were fast growing into secular kingdoms, and erected upon their ruins one indigenous empire, having conquered all from Timbuctoo westward to the sea and eastward to the frontier of Abyssinia, making about three thousand miles in length. Since then, Islam in Africa has been very much modified in its practices by the social peculiarities of the people. And within the last twenty years a distinguished native scholar and warrior, Omaru Al-Hajj, suppressed the undue influence of the Arabs in Timbuctoo—attacked that city in 1864, expelled the Arabs, and, with the same troops, confined the French to the western side of the Niger. His son Alimadu now reigns at Sego, and, both by diplomacy and force, is checking or controlling the renewed operations of the French in the valley of the Niger.

Africa is a continent comprising 11,500,000 square miles, while Asia has 16,000,000 square miles. The area of Africa is equal to the combined areas of Europe, the United States of America, China, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The great dark continent is nearly four times as large as the United States. The Soudan, the home of 50,000,000 people, is 700 miles wide and 3,500 miles long and stretches from the Sahara desert to the Guinea coast, from the Atlantic ocean to the upper Nile regions.



Authorities offer different opinions as to the population of Africa. The book, "Africa and its Exploration," puts the population at 135,000,000. It says that there are 18,000,000 in north Africa and the east coast and that there are 100,000,000 Negroes and 18,000,000 Bantus in Africa.

But Wilson J. Naylor, in his "Daybreak in the Dark Continent," states that the native population in Africa is estimated at 150,000,000 and that the white population, which is numerous in south Africa on account of diamond and gold mining, has not reached the 2,000,000 mark yet. Naylor also says that 300,000 natives of India and over 25,000 Chinese have already been imported to south and east Africa as laborers. There are 381,000 Jews on the Mediterranean coast and the "Fellashas," a large colony of Jews, have lived in Abyssinia for many centuries.

The population of Africa is largely divided between the pagans and Mohammedans. Pagan Africa comprises the territory south of the Soudan, together with parts of the Soudan, and has a population of 90,000,000 according to Naylor. Mohammedan Africa embraces parts of the Soudan, the thinly populated Sahara desert and the territory north of the Soudan, and has a population of 50,000,000 according to Naylor. But Keane, the great ethnologist, claims that there are 180,000,000 pure and mixed Negroes in Africa.

The Guinea coast region, at the western extremity of the Soudan, where the pure Negro type is found, is the section of Africa from which the majority of slaves for the American slave trade were taken. According to Keane, there are two great divisions of the Negro race, the eastern or Oceanic section, which lies in the Malay Peninsula, Andamans, parts of the eastern archipelago, the Philippines, and New Guinea; and western or African section of Melanesia and Australia. The eastern section is chiefly found in New Guinea and Melanesia and has a population of two million. The western or African section lives in Madagascar, north Africa, southern United States, West Indies and Latin America. Its total population is 208,000,000 and is thus divided: 180,000,000 pure and mixed Negroes live in Africa, 25,000,000 in the United States, West Indies and Latin America.

There are a few Negroes and some Caucasian Hamites with strains of Negro blood in their veins in North Africa. But the

three great divisions of the Negro race in Africa are the Soudanese Negro, the Bantu Negro and the Abyssinian Negro.

The Soudanese Negro is slightly mixed, the Bantu and Abyssinian Negro are moderately mixed with the Caucasian Hamites and Arabs.

From twenty to thirty stock languages are spoken in the Soudan, where Moslem and pagan populations live side by side and occasionally intermarry. But in Bantuland all the languages spoken are similar, being derived from a single stock language. The term Bantu Negro does not mean that all the Negroes of Central and South Africa belong to the same racial group, but it means that they all speak the same language. The most powerful people among the Soudanese Negroes are the Timni, the Songhay Nation, the Hausas, the Fulahs and the Mandingans. The most powerful people in Bantuland are the Uganda, Basutus, and Kafirs or Zulus.

Of the Soudanese tribes the Timni are a very brave and warlike people, and the Songhay, the Mandingans, Hausas and Fulahs, have established powerful dynasties. In Bantuland the Uganda, Eshi-Kongo and Zulu-Xosas, now called "Kafirs," because the Mohammedans apply the Arabic word, Kafir ("Infidel") to all the non-Moslem peoples of East Africa, have likewise established powerful dynasties.

Keane, on page 331 of Vol. I of his work on Africa, pays tribute to the powerful kingdoms of the Soudan. He says:

Under their Mohammedan guides the Negroid populations have founded large and rudely organized states, in which the tribal groups have in many places been merged in the nation, and which have reached a degree of culture little inferior to that of their Hamite and Semite neighbors. The barbaric splendor of the mediæval Songhay, Ghana and Melle empires is still reflected in the political and social conditions prevalent in Bornu, Baghirmi and Woday, the last Negroid Kingdoms that have hitherto escaped absorption in the European systems.

With the exception of Abyssinia, Liberia and the nomadic Tuaregs of the Sahara Desert, all of Africa is under the control of some European State, one by one the powerful African States have succumbed to the European powers. England virtually is the dominant power in Egypt, the Soudan, a large part of the west coast and south central Africa. France, Germany

and Portugal control the rest. But the history of Africa shows that a half dozen black conquerors have ruled, who commanded thousands of men, ruling millions and exercising sway over territory as vast as the German Empire.

#### SIERRA LEONE, THE TIMNI.

Sierra Leone is an interesting State, for it shows what the African Negro who has been in contact with European civilization for a century can accomplish. Sierra Leone, like Liberia, represents an African State that has long been brought in contact with European civilization. For nearly a century it was a slave trading station, where sometimes 60,000 slaves were shipped in one year by an English Company to Spanish-American planters. In 1787 it came into the possession of a few English philanthropists and then its history took a different course. It was established as a colony for free Negroes who were brought over from the United States and British North America. In 1812, Paul Cuffee, a wealthy American Negro, brought over from the United States, in his own ship, over 4,000 free colored people, at his own expense and supported them for one year. He died while negotiating with the British government for establishing it as a colony for free American Negroes. In 1807, the slave trade was abolished. Sierra Leone came under the British government and served as a sort of cup or saucer to receive captive slaves from almost every tribe on the west coast of Africa, who were rescued by English cruisers from slave traders. Nearly two hundred different languages or dialects were spoken by this hybrid population, which represented every conceivable variety of the Negro type. A linguistic confusion prevailed, which matched that of the Tower of Babel. The adoption of English as the common medium of linguistic exchange made social and business intercourse possible between the descendants of the American colonists and the captive slaves. At first, as Keane tells us, it developed into a Negro-English jargon; but now it has evolved into pure English.

So for about a century, Sierra Leone has been under the influence of civilization and missionary forces and the suzerainty of the British government. And what has been the result? Keane, though prejudiced against the Negro and though often

erroneous in his conclusions, because of his preconceived bias, is very accurate in his observations. He says:

Nevertheless, this hybrid community has acquired a certain degree of culture, shown by their skill in the mechanical arts, their general profession of some form of Protestantism, and the regular attendance of the children at school. The more proficient scholars even continue their studies in the higher educational establishments, such as the Furah Bay College, affiliated to the University of Durham. Some of the Sierra Leoneans practice the liberal professions with success and they have even produced one or more writers who have aspired to literary honors.

In a foot note Keane states that of a total population of 76,000 in 1901 about 41,000 are Protestants, over 7,000 Mohammedans, a few hundred Catholics, the rest heathens; school attendance, 5,500.

I will add that Oreshatukeh Faduma, a pure Negro, a native of Sierra Leone, received his A.B. degree from London University and then spent four years in the Yale Divinity School, distinguishing himself in theology and Hebrew and winning a graduate scholarship. For the past thirteen years he has done remarkable work as an educator and pastor under the auspices of the American Missionary Association at Troy, N. C., in a rural community. He is now a professor in the Religious Training School of Durham, N. C.

Keane also says the colony, which is administered by a governor, with nominated executive and legislative councils, has a revenue (1904) of £240,500, being £2,600 in excess of expenditures, and a growing export trade of £485,000 (an increase of £160,000 in five years) consisting chiefly of palm oil and kernels, ground and Kola nuts, rubber, copal, benni seed and hides.

One would naturally expect that Keane would draw an optimistic conclusion with regard to a people only a century removed from Africa savagery and in partial contact with civilization. But he does not. He says the outcome of a century's experience in civilization, under European guidance, tends to confirm the impressions that the Negro is not capable of rising to the general level of European culture and if left to himself will lapse into primeval barbarism. This shows that Keane is not so successful in drawing conclusions as in gathering facts.

Of the tribes around Sierra Leone, the Timni, from whom Boston Crummell, the father of Rev. Alexander Crummell, sprung, and who, in 1885, defeated a British garrison near Freetown, are the most powerful. On page 82 of his "World's Peoples," Keane says:

Yet some of these natives, the Timni amongst others, who were the dominant people before the British occupation, also hold their heads rather high, and not altogether perhaps without reason. Those of the Rokelle valley, back of Freetown, are a fine vigorous race with rather pleasant Negroid features and proud bearing.

Those who have seen the tall, graceful and stately Dr. Crummell, whose grandfather was a Timni prince, walk with the tread and bearing of a king, have some idea of what a high-minded and high-spirited people the Timni are. The Timni are successful rice farmers and raise other produce, and devote more time to culture of the soil than to stock breeding. Keane says they have an oral literature rich in myths, tales and proverbs. Each village has its own chief. But the real authority is exercised by the so-called Purra, a guild or secret society, who perform their secret rites in the woods at midnight, whose decrees are executed by armed bands of masked men. Both prince and people must obey the mandate of the Purra and no stranger can enter the land of the Timni against their wish. I regard the Timni as brave and spirited a people as the American Indian at his best.

#### THE MANDÉ OR MANDINGAN NATION.

And now we come to the powerful Mandé or Mandingan nation, a dark people, who divide the honors with the Songhay nation of having created the most powerful empire in Negroland and produced Mansa-Musa, the Charlemagne of the Soudan. Keane says of them in the "World's Peoples":

Dominant in the west—that is, between the Atlantic and the Niger—is the great Mandé or Mandingan nation, an historical people with a record of over a thousand years as founders of mediæval empires of Melle and Guiné, and of the more recent kingdoms of Masina, Bambara, Kaarta, Kong and others, all now mere provinces of French Soudan. . . .

In the fourteenth century the Mandingans under their famous ruler, Mansa-Musa of the Mali dynasty became the most powerful Soudanese nation of which there is any authentic record. After consolidating his empire, which included most of West Soudan and the western Sahara,

Mansa-Musa made a wonderful pilgrimage to Mecca at the head of 60,000 men-at-arms, preceded by 500 slaves, each bearing a gold stick weighing fourteen pounds, and jointly representing a money value of about £4,000,000. The people of Cairo and Mecca were dazzled by his wealth and munificence; but on the return a great part of his followers were seized by an epidemic called *twat*, a word which still survives in the oasis of Twat, where most of them perished.

At present the Mandingans possess no political status, but are noted for their industrial habits, being rivalled by few as agriculturists, weavers and metal workers.

They manufactured cotton, and furnish the Moors with ready-made clothing. Blyden says the ancestors of these people understood the use of cotton plant and the manufacture of cotton when Julius Cæsar found the Britons clothing themselves in the skins of wild beasts.

#### THE SONGHAYS OR SONGHAY NATION.

And now we come to the Mohammed Askia of Kano, the most powerful native chieftain who ever held the reins of authority in West Africa, whose reign began in 1492, the year of the discovery of America, and who ruled a kingdom that was as large as the German Empire. Keane calls him "a most illustrious monarch" and "the renowned Mohammed Askia." The Songhay nation began its glorious history in 1,000 and for six centuries was the strongest kingdom in the Soudan, reaching the climax of its power under the wonderful Mohammed Askia.

In his works on Africa, Keane pays splendid tribute to the Songhay nation. He says:

In 722 A. D. the Arabs had crossed the western Sahara and reached the Niger basin . . . when Mosques and schools were already opened in the Negro Kingdom of Ghana. . . .

By the year 1000 nearly all the Berber tribes of the Sahara had abandoned heathendom and Christianity and embraced Islam. From that year dates the foundation of the great Mohammedan empire of the Songhay Negroes, which later extended north to the Twat oasis and which persisted till the close of the sixteenth century, when it was overthrown by Mulai Hamed, Sultan of Morocco, in 1591. Thus was broken the momentary political cohesion given to the scattered Saharan populations by the renowned Haj Mohammed Askia, most illustrious monarch of the Songhay-Berber State, and since that time the various Berber and Arab peoples of the Saharan oases have known no peace, maintaining hereditary inter-tribal feuds with each other, and combining only to resist hostile movement from without.

Since the Songhay succumbed to the Sultan of Morocco in 1591-92, they have rapidly declined and their fate has been that of the children of Israel. Their two million people were scattered and they were subject to Hausas, Tuaregs and Fulahs, until the French seized Timbuktu in 1894, and they now yield allegiance to France.

#### HAUSAS.

The Hausa nation, with its seven States, founded by legendary heroes, Biram, Daura, Gober, Kano, Katsena and ZegZed, with its fifteen million people and a Negro Hamitic language that is spoken through the Soudan, is now the greatest trading and commercial center of Negrodom. They rose to power soon after the decline of the Songhays, and were the dominant people in central Soudan until the victorious Fulahs, under Othman dan Fodiye, conquered them and set up the Mohammedan empire of Sokoto. But since the breaking up of the empire of Sokoto by the English in 1903, the Hausas have rapidly forged to the front as the most commercial people in the Soudan, with great markets at Kano, Yakoba and Katsena.

Kano, formerly the capital of a former Hausa State, is one of the largest centers of population in the Soudan, and the market of Kano, famous for its blue cotton cloth and leather goods, is the largest in Negroland or Bantuland, and one of the largest in Africa. Kano, with its quadrangular, flat-roofed houses, which are surrounded by gardens and fields, takes up a great deal of ground and is surrounded by sun-dried clay walls from twenty to thirty feet high and fifteen miles in circumference.

The population is doubled from January to April, when caravans arrive from all parts, and 1,500 camel-loads of the "Kano" or blue cotton cloth are sent each year to Timbuktu, Ghat, Fezzan and Tripolis. Leather, gold-dust, ivory, salt and indigo are also sold in great quantities in the market.

Yakoba or Garo-n-Bautchi, the capital of another old Hausa State, having a population of nearly 100,000, is even larger than Kano. Like the latter city, it is surrounded by walls, which enclose large fields and gardens and also rocky heights and ponds. Rahlfs, who visited Yakoba in 1866, estimated the walls as three and one-half hours in circuit. Yakoba by no means has a

market as large as Kano, but date, citron, pomegranate and other tropical and sub-tropical fruits grow there, and at the time of Rahlf's visit, cattle, small horses, sheep and goats and cotton stuffs were daily sold in the market.

Although the Hausas are an intelligent, courteous, law-abiding agricultural and trading people, the fighting blood of their ancestors still stirs in their veins. They have rendered a good account of themselves when fighting in Britain's cause under English officers, and rough and tumble fights between professional boxers are as popular among the Hausas as football, wrestling and prize fighting are in America.

#### FULAHS.

We now come to the Fulahs, the great conquerors and preachers of Islam, who under Othman dan Fodiye in the early part of the nineteenth century subdued the Hausas, replaced the Hausa kings by Fulah emirs, and extended their sway throughout central and western Soudan, establishing the Mohammedan empire of Sokoto.

The Fulahs, with their light chestnut or reddish-brown complexion, their crisp curly hair, straight noses, regular features and slender, well-knit bodies, are a fine looking and intelligent people. Undoubtedly they are not a pure Negro race; but represent a blending of Negro and Hamitic stock, and are what are now called Negroids.

Originally, they were despised and persecuted Mohammedan herdsmen, scattered from Senegambia to Darfur, in small communities, which were politically heterogeneous and subject to the native kings and chiefs. But they had in their midst another Mohammed. The hand of Othman dan Fodiye, one of their religious teachers, was called by Bawa, the pagan prince of the northern Hausa State of Gober, for his fanaticism in proclaiming the Moslem creed. And in 1802, this African Mohammed, smarting under his rebuke, raised aloft the Mohammedan banners and rallied the rude shepherds and scattered herdsmen around him. Their religious enthusiasm, like a tidal wave, swept over the barriers of defeat. It swept across the central and western Soudan, overturning the strong Hausa States and overthrowing the Moslem and pagan princes in the Soudan and Adamawa, until



Othman reigned supreme from the Niger to the borders of Bornu. But Othman's mighty kingdom was short-lived and broke to pieces after his death in 1817. It was divided between his lieutenant, Ahmed Lebbo, his son Bello and his brother Abd-Allâhi. The territory ruled by Bello and known as the empire of Sokoto was but part of Othman's mighty empire. And in 1903, the English appeared upon the scene, broke the empire of Sokoto into fragments, and dethroned the last Fulah emperor. And now the brave, intelligent and warlike Fulahs bow to the British Empire.

#### THE KANURI.

And now we come to a kingdom of almost pure Negroes, which from a military, political, agricultural and industrial standpoint demonstrate to a supreme degree the political and industrial capacities of the Native African. The Kanuri, almost pure Negroes, with a slight mixture of Tibu, are the rulers of Bornu. The people are Mohammedans and semi-barbaric; but had a fully centralized and well-governed kingdom.

On page 400 of Volume I of his work on Africa, Keane says:

The Kanuri people have, at all events, developed a fully organized administration, a royal court and government with all its accompanying dignities and offices, a military system which for central Africa may be considered fairly well worked out; in a word, a people of industrious habits, tillers of the land, and skilled in many of the mechanical arts, a people that can in no sense be called "savage," although still addicted to many practices which must be accounted barbarous.

The Kanuri were formerly slavers like the English, American, French and Spanish.

Birni, or Qasr-eggomo, the capital of the conquering nomadic, Kanuri, since the reign of their great ruler, Ali Ghajideni (1472-1504), was captured and destroyed early in the nineteenth century by the victorious Fulahs, in their resistless march across the Soudan. It was constructed of baked bricks, had a magnificent palace and walls six miles in circumference. Kuka, the next capital of Bornu, has a population of over 60,000, is divided into two sections, the eastern or smaller section being the seat of government, and the larger or western section being the residence section, which are a mile from each other, each being enclosed

by a wall twenty feet high. Narrow streets "branch" right and left from the two broadways, which run through each section. The houses are built of reed and straw, shaped like a sugar-loaf.

The wealthy class "occupy" three or four of these, which are all enclosed by a common earthen wall.

Formerly the center of a great slave trade, Kuka, with its streets crowded with cattle, camels, sheep and poultry, and booths and stalls occupying the open spaces, where butter, milk, eggs, corn, fruits and other things are sold, is a market fully as picturesque and almost as large as the market at Kano. At the horse-fairs, outside the gates, for £4 one can buy one of the superb saddle horses which have made the kingdom of Bornu famous. The land is more fertile than the famous blue grass region of the State of Kentucky; and sheep, goats, asses, ivory, ostrich feathers, indigo, wheat, leather, and the skins of lions and leopards are here exchanged for the textile goods, cutlery, paper, spices, and sugar, which have been brought from Europe by trading companies.

During Rahlf's visit to Bornu in 1864, a caravan of 4,000 slaves, gathered from the neighboring pagan tribes, was dispatched from Kuka and detachments for their journey northwards through the desert.

Keane says that the government was constitutional in form, but despotic in reality. The Mai, the emperor or king, was clothed with papal authority and infallibility. The Digma, next in legal power, exercised the functions of our Cabinet and Vice-President. He presided at the meeting of the Council, which was composed of the military chiefs, the representatives of the subject tribes and members of the royal family. The standing army, which numbered nearly 30,000, was formed of the military followers of the small Feudal lords, each of whom reigned over his own little kingdom. Two thousand of these were supplied with flint muskets. The Mai had a bodyguard of mailed horsemen, whose suits of armor were either secured from the Egyptian Soudan or made in the country. Twenty metal guns had been cast at Kuka, and a large part of the soldiers were clad in European uniforms. For pay the soldiers were given plenty of land. Here we see a feudal system, which would have done credit to a European kingdom during the Middle Ages; each petty kingdom

ruled by a petty chief, who was under the Supreme Ruler, King or Emperor.

John Leo, a Moor, who was born in Granada and reared in Barbary, wrote his work entitled, "A Geographical Historie of Africa," in Arabic and Italian. It was published by Ramusio in 1550, and translated by John Pory, of Gonville and Cain's College, Cambridge, in 1600. He thus pictured the kingdom of Melle, afterwards called the kingdom of Bornu.

In this kingdom, there is a large and ample village, containing to the number of six thousand or more families and called Melle, whereof the whole kingdom is so named. And here the king hath his place of residence. The region itself yieldeth great abundance of corn, flesh and cotton. Here are many artificers and merchants in all places; and yet the king honorably entertaineth all strangers. The inhabitants are rich and have plenty of wares. Here are great stores of temples, priests and professors, which professors read their lectures in the temples. The people of this region excel all other Negroes in wit, civility and industry.

And about 1800, McQueen, on page 219 of his "Central Africa," was equally impressed with the kingdom of Bornu, for he says:

Bornou is a very extensive and powerful monarchy. The capital thereof is so that travellers, in describing its magnitude, state that Cairo, which contains half a million of people, "is a trifle to it." Kashna which is subject to Bornou, is said to contain one thousand towns and villages. The country is represented as being very pleasant, beautifully diversified with hills and dales very fertile, well cultivated, abounding in flocks and herds, and very populous.

Thus one and two hundred years ago, before the advent of missionaries, the kingdom of Bornu had developed wonderfully along agricultural, industrial, political and military lines.

Such was the kingdom of Bornu, with its 56,000 square miles and its population of 5,000,000 until 1902, when it with Waday, Baghirmi and Kanem, the other States in the Chad basin, were partitioned between England and France and Germany and the slave trade was suppressed in this region. Bornu, with the Hausa States and empire of Sokoto, in fact, the whole of central Soudan, has now been absorbed into British Northern Nigeria or British Northern Soudan.

On page 96 of his "World's Peoples," Keane thus succinctly sums up the fate of all the powerful empires of Negroland:

In Central Soudan, between the Niger and Waday, most of these aborigines have vanished, either driven to the southern uplands or merged in the Moslem Arab or Berber invaders. All who accepted the Koran formed the sub-stratum of a common Negroid population, by which were developed large semi-civilized communities and powerful political states. Thus it is that for over a thousand years Central Soudan has been occupied by a small number of mixed Negro-Berber, or Negro-Tibu, or Negro-Arab nations, forming distinct political and social systems, each with its own language and special institutions, but all alike accepting Islam as the state religion, and consequently, domestic slavery as the basis of society. These theocratic monarchies are all gone, and now form provinces or protectorates in the British or French possessions.

#### THE UGANDA.

And Bantuland also produced powerful kingdoms, which were as powerful as the Soudanese kingdoms. Keane, on pages 114-116 of his "World's Peoples," says:

Before the recent extension of the British Rule from the Indian Ocean to the Ruwenzori highlands, the Bantu people grouped round the shores of Lake Victoria and Albert Nyanza were constituted in a number of separate kingdoms, the most powerful of which was Uganda, Unyoro and Karagwe. But these states traditionally formed part of the vast Kitwara empire, which comprised the whole of the lacustrine plateau, now partitioned between England and Germany. The mythical founder of this mighty monarchy was Kintu, the "Blameless," at once priest, patriarch and potentate, who came from the north ages ago with one wife, one cow, one goat, one hen, one banana-root, and one sweet potato, and thus was the wilderness soon peopled, stocked and planted with these things which still form the staple food of those lands.

Then follows other legendary matter, till authentic history is reached with the ferocious Suna (1836-60), father of the scarcely less ferocious M'tesa, whom Stanley describes as one of the most capricious potentates that ever ruled in Africa. After his death in 1884, Uganda and the neighboring lands passed rapidly through a series of astonishing political religions, and social vicissitudes, resulting in the present pax Britannica and the conversion of large numbers, some to Islam, others to one form or the other of Christianity. Since the establishment of harmony amongst the various sects, real progress has been made, and the Waganda especially have displayed a remarkable capacity for acquiring a knowledge of letters and of religious doctrines, both in the Protestant and Catholic communities. Printing presses, busily worked by native hands, are needed to meet the increasing demand for a vernacular literature in a

region where blood had flown continually from the disappearance of "Kintu" till the British occupation.

BA-LOLO, OR "MEN OF IRON."

The Ba-Lolo people, occupying the horseshoe bend of the middle Congo, near the equator, were first brought to the attention of the civilized world by Rev. John McKittrick, who discovered them in 1884. But although the various tribes have never united politically and founded powerful empires as did the Mandingans, Songhays, Hausas, Fulahs, Kanuri, they excel as farmers, builders, workers in iron and orators and have attained a high degree of civilization. They respect the rights of women, who have a voice in the public assemblies, where vital issues are debated. Keane says of them:

The Ba-Lolo, that is "Men of Iron," either in reference to their strength in battle (compare Ironsides), or more probably to their skill as forgers, are both physically and mentally one of the finest Bantu races. The slight strain of Negro blood is betrayed chiefly in the tumid lower lip, but for which the features—high forehead, arched or straight nose, delicate under-jaw, bright eye might fairly be called Caucasian, fully equal to the average European in their regular outlines and intelligent expression. They appear to have migrated early in the century from the east or northeast especially Galla or Kaffaland, to their present homes, where they have cleared the forests, brought vast tracts under cultivation, and built towns like Munlongo's or Boycla's regularly laid out in the American style, but with the houses so wide apart that it takes hours to traverse them. The Ba-Lolo are extremely skillful workers in iron, producing agricultural implements such as hoes, spades and axes, as well as knives, spears, and ornaments, all of excellent quality and mostly in good taste. They also display great skill in the construction of their canoes, and understand the division of labor, "farmers, gardeners, smiths, boat-builders, weavers, cabinet-makers, armourers, warriors and speakers being already differentiated amongst them."

Keane, in his endeavor to take every intelligent tribe out of the Negro race, minimizes the strain of Negro blood in their veins, for they have a large strain.

THE BA-LUBA.

South of the Ba-Lolo dwell the strong Ba-Luba race. Wissman, who visited them in 1881, was struck by their intelligence, industry and skill in working iron and copper. He pronounced them a fine Negroid race and called them, "a nation of the think-

ers, with the interrogative *Why?* constantly on their lips." Captain C. S. Latrobe Bateman, who lived amongst them in 1885 and 1886, had an equally high opinion of them. On page 20 of "*The First Ascent of the Kassai*," he says:

Thoroughly and unimpeachably honest, brave to foolhardiness, and faithful to each other and to their superiors, in whom, especially if Europeans, they place the most complete reliance. They are prejudiced in favor of foreign customs rather than otherwise, and spontaneously copy the usages of civilization. They are warm-hearted and affectionate towards their friends, and they are the only African tribe among whom, in their primitive state, I have observed anything like a becoming conjugal affection and regard. To say nothing of such recommendations as their emancipation from fetishism, their ancient abandonment of cannibalism, their heretofore most happy experience of Europeans, and their national unity under the sway of a really princely prince (Calembe). I believe them to be the most open to the best influences of civilization of any African tribe whatsoever.

#### THE ESHI-KONGO.

On page 125 of his "*World's People*," Keane says:

On the west coast the only historical people are the Eshi-Kongo, who had founded a powerful state south of the Congo estuary before the advent of the Portuguese in 1491.

The Catholic missionaries converted and baptized thousands, among them the Mfuma ("Emperor") himself. Keane says that his capital, Mbanza, was renamed San Salvador, that Christianity never really got a vise-like grip upon these people and that the Cathedral of San Salvador is in ruins. He says the memory of the Passion is kept alive by the Cabinda people, north of the Congo, who to the other atrocities inflicted on witches and wizards have added crucifixions as described and illustrated by R. E. Dennet. Yet these Cabindas are really an intelligent, active, and even enterprising people, and such shrewd traders that they have been called the "*Jews of West Africa*."

#### BA-SUTO.

Keane, ever fair to the mixed Negro or Negroid people, and ever hostile to the pure Negro, pays a splendid tribute to the Ba-Suto, who are physically like the Kafirs or Zulus, except that they are shorter in stature, with softer features and possibly thinner lips. They live in the central portion of Bantuland south of

the Zambesi, while the Zulu-Xosa live in the southeastern section. Heretofore they have been considered as Negroes and I believe that south of Mason and Dixon line in America, they would be assigned to the Jim Crow car, without any debate or ceremony. But such is their intelligence and refinement, that Keane can't stand the idea of considering them as Negroes; but such they are in fact, as much Negroes as the so-called American, Haytien and West Indian Negro, possibly more so. At any rate, they prove that a Negroid people having a large strain of Negro blood in their veins can ascend to the highest heights of civilization.

On page 242 of Vol. II of his work on Africa, Keane says:

The contact with Europeans, fatal to the vitality of so many of the lower races, even when, like the Maori, endowed with a fair share of physical energy and intelligence, has acted favorably on the Ba-Suto, who have not merely outwardly adopted but thoroughly assimilated Western culture. Under the guidance of their religious teachers, they have within two generations accomplished what no pure Negro community has ever succeeded in doing even under the most favorable conditions. They have transformed the rugged upland valleys of the Orange head-water into highly productive pastoral and agricultural lands, whence Cape Colony itself in good seasons draws supplies of cereals, fruits, vegetables, and other produce to the value of over £200,000. They have built themselves substantial brick and stone tenements, constructed good highways throughout the country, improved their breeds of live stock, and yet found means to support a system of national instruction more efficient than that of many European states. The greater part of the superfluous revenues is freely devoted to educational purposes, so that thousands already speak English or Dutch without neglecting their mother tongue, in which they publish numerous religious and educational works and even periodicals. Nor is their attention engrossed by material cares, for they have learned to interest themselves in abstract questions of philosophy and dogma, and the Missionary already finds that a spirit of scepticism has been awakened among these "Waldenses" of the South African alpine valleys. What the Ba-Suto have done, their Western kinsmen are equally capable of accomplishing, so that there is no reason to despair of seeing a great part of the Bechuanaland plateau occupied before many generations by civilized and flourishing Bantu communities.

#### ZULU-KAFIR.

On page 243 of Vol. II of his Africa, Keane says:

Of all the Bantu nations none present such a marked individuality, whether as regards their physical and mental qualities, political sagacity, warlike nature, and historical development, as the Zulu-Kafir branch, who

have been in possession of the southeastern seaboard from time immemorial.

They are tall, slender, well built and muscular and their black woolly hair, dark complexion, broad noses and thick lips compel even the biased Keane to recognize the Negro element as conspicuous. Keane describes the Kafir political systems "as a patriarchal monarchy limited by a powerful aristocracy." The nations are divided into tribes which are each ruled by a hereditary inkose or feudal chief, who is legislator, judge, and executive rolled in one. The only limit to his absolute power, authority and unjust decisions is the protest of the nobles or foremost members of the tribe, who have assembled in council. The sum total of their decisions forms the code of the common law of the land and establishes precedents.

#### THE ZULU MILITARY SYSTEM.

And now we come to the powerful Zulus, who sent the terror of their name across Africa, and even held the British at bay for a while.

The real founder of the splendid Zulu system, which turned Zululand into a modern Sparta, and welded the Zulus into a military force, which was as fierce as the Vikings and as well disciplined as the Macedonian phalanx, was Dingiswayo, heir apparent to the Aba-Tetwa chieftainship. He was exiled and spent the years 1793-1799 in Cape Colony, where he saw the ease with which well disciplined European soldiers defeated vast hosts of unorganized savages, who greatly outnumbered them. On the death of his father, he was recalled home, assumed the sceptre of authority and showed his constructive genius by perfecting the Zulus into one of the most formidable fighting machines that was ever constructed out of barbarous and semi-civilized people.

Chaka, the heir to the Ama-Zulu chieftainship incurred the wrath of his father and fled for protection to Dingiswayo, his kinsman. He studied his splendid military system. After the death of Dingiswayo, Chaka seized the reins of authority and merged the Ama-Zulu and Aba-Tetwa into a powerful military State, which was divided into military districts, which were perfectly disciplined.



Then, like Attila, Chaka started on his devastating march, conquering, exterminating, driving out or absorbing tribe after tribe, until Chaka soon reigned absolute and supreme over the territories now included in Basutoland, the whole of Natal and most of the Boer States of the Orange Colony and Transvaal. In September, 1828, Chaka lost his life at the hands of his brother Mhlangana, who in turn was soon killed by his brother Dingan.

Then followed several years of war between the Zulus and Boers, finally Cetewayo, nephew of Chaka and son of Panda his younger brother, after a series of civil wars between himself and his brother, Umbulazi, secured the assistance of the Natal government and procured his formal nomination. On the death of his father, October, 1882, he ascended to the throne.

He and the Boers disagreed about the "debatable frontier lands." England sided with the Boers. Cetewayo threw out threats and angered the English, who sent General Chelmsford into his territory in January, 1879. But on January 27, 1879, Cetewayo's army surprised and cut to pieces a division at Isandhlwana near Rorke's Drift passage of the Tugela and later "cut off" the party to which Prince Napoleon, son of Emperor Napoleon III, was attached as volunteer. But on the fourth of July of the same year, the Zulus were routed and Cetewayo captured at Ulundi, his chief kraal or native village.

Internecine warfare followed the partitioning of Zululand to thirteen petty chiefs; and most of his territory was given back to Cetewayo in 1883, after his return from England. He was defeated by Usibebus, to whom part of his old territory in the northeast had been ceded, and he died at the reserve in 1884. The Zulus could neither bring political order out of chaos nor cope with Transvaal Boers. The result was that in 1887 England established what was left of the Zulu empire as a protectorate, ruled by a President Commissioner who was subject to the governor of Natal.

#### THE WA-HUMA.

On page 13 of Volume II of his work on Africa, Keane advances the following theory:

The Bantu people are fundamentally Negroes in diverse proportions, affected by Wa-Huma, or Galla—that is, Hamitic—elements. The Wa-

Huma, who, under the name of Wa-Tusi, are found as far south as the U-Nyamezi country, are by recent observers unanimously described as a very fine race, with oval face, straight nose, small mouth, and, generally speaking, regular Caucasian features. Such a type is found everywhere cropping out amid the surrounding Negroid populations throughout the southern half of the continent, and the conclusion seems irresistible that it should be referred to those Wa-Huma, or Hamitic Gallas, probably for ages advancing as conquerors from the northeast into the heart of the continent. . . . The Wa-Huma are also distinguished by their intense love both of personal freedom and political autonomy, sentiments which are but feebly developed amongst the true Negro populations. Such is their horror of captivity and foreign yoke, that those who have failed to maintain their independence are no longer regarded as true Wa-Huma. The very women who have the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Arab slave-dealers are looked upon as degraded forever, and, should they escape from bondage, are burnt alive by their own people. Traits of this sort would almost alone suffice to suspect at least a very large infusion of non-Negro blood in the Wa-Huma race. This element we may now trace with some confidence to the Hamites of northeast Africa as its true source.

The Bantus may therefore be regarded as a Negroid—that is, a modified Negro race, in which the Hamites of northeast Africa constitute the modifying element. The modification itself is obviously a question of degree, naturally greater in the east than in the west, with every shade of transition in the intervening central regions.

#### KHAMA, THE WONDERFUL RULER OF THE BA-MANGWATO.

The Ba-Mangwato are a self-governing people, subject to no foreign authority, submitting to no foreign yoke, who with the Ba-Twana rule over more than half of North Bechuanaland or the territory northwest of the Transvaal.

Khama, who, in 1863, fought the Matabili cattle stealers in the open plains and retired with honors, is said by Keane to be the most distinguished native ruler anywhere south of the Zambesi. Under the beneficent guidance of judicious missionaries and British agents, he has long governed his people wisely and firmly, abolishing witchcraft and other savage customs, excluding strong drinks by severe excise measures, personally administering justice with equity and moderation, encouraging agriculture, the industrial arts and education, and at the same time offering a stout resistance to the incessant attack of the fierce Matabili hordes on his eastern frontier.

## THE ZIMBABYE RUINS AND MASHONALAND.

Matabililand and Mashonaland occupy the territory south of the Zambesi River, and north and northwest of the South African Republic. Mashonaland is northeast of Matabililand, which was formerly ruled by Lobengula, a Zulu chief, who made his presence and power felt in that section of Africa. But both of these countries are now under the control of the chartered South Africa Company.

At Zimbabwe, near Fort Victoria in Matabililand, stands the monuments which have been the theme of much discussion. In 1569 Francis Baretto led some adventurous Portuguese into the Zambesi basin and found the Manica goldfields. De Barros, a contemporary writer, living from 1496 to 1570, described the Zimbabwe monuments, which are now in ruins. De Barros mentions a king, Benomotap or Monomotapa, who ruled over a great territory around the kingdom of Sofala, which includes the gold mines of Manica, Mashonaland and Matabililand. Zimbabwe, meaning "royal residence," was the capital of this kingdom, and here the famous monuments or ruins stand. Adam Renders rediscovered them in 1868. And the Chartered Company sent an expedition to Mashonaland in 1890. De Barros says of the monuments:

They are all in a plain, in the middle of which stands a square fortress, all of dressed stones within and without, well wrought and of marvellous size, without any line showing the joinings, the walls of which are over twenty-five hands thick, but the height is not so great compared to the thickness. And above the gateway of that edifice is an inscription which some learned Moorish (Arab) traders who were there could not read, nor say what writing it was. And grouped, as it were, round this structure are others on the same heights, like it in the stone work, and without line, in which is a tower twelve bracas (72 feet) high. All these structures the people of the country call Symbaoe (Zimbabwe), which with them means a court, for every place where Benomatapa stays is so called; and as they speak of this as being a royal building, all the other dwellings of the king bear the same name. . . . They lie west of Sofala in a straight line 170 leagues more or less under the latitude of 20° and 21° south. . . . In the opinion of the Moors who saw them they seem to be very ancient, and were built there to hold possession of those mines, which are very old, from which for years no gold has been taken owing to the wars.

And Keane, on page 375 of Volume II of his *Africa*, says:

The ruins, which stand on the edge of the Mashonaland plateau, are scattered to a great distance over a gentle slope, where a large kopje or knoll is crowned with a sort of fort composed of huge masses of granite. The main ruins on the slope below consist of massive circular walls, sometimes arranged in concentric rings, and a main building of the same form no less than 80 yards in diameter, within which a large solid conical tower, the most interesting feature of all, is enclosed by loftier and still more massive walls. The whole is built without mortar, in regular and neatly dressed courses, of uniform pieces of granite about twice the size of an ordinary brick, very hard, greenish-black in color, and giving a metallic ring when struck. The work of disintegration is being slowly carried on, by burrowing and climbing plants, but the wall is still 30 feet high with an average thickness of 18 feet at the base tapering to about eight feet along the irregularly broken top. On the entrance side the passage widens out so as to contain the great conical tower or keep 35 feet high and 18 feet in diameter at the base.

This account of Keane is taken from the *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 13, 1890, and is probably the account given by Mr. Baumann, who accompanied the Chartered Company's expedition in 1890.

Keane also says:

Similar ruins, very old and very extensive, occur at the Benningwa hills about the upper waters of the Lunde river, and numerous other remains are now known to exist in various parts of the Matabili and Mashona plateau, all apparently connected with long-abandoned gold mines.

Some attribute the monuments or Ruins to the Portuguese, others to the Arabs, others to the Phœnicians, others to the Abyssinians of Axum, others to the Persians of the Sassania epoch, and Mr. Theodore Bent to the pre-Mohammedan Arabs. But Keane says at the bottom of page 376:

But it is evident from De-Barros that the chief monuments, both at Zimbabwe and elsewhere, date from an epoch anterior both to Portuguese and Arab times.

#### BISHOP HARTZELL, NAYLOR AND PESCHEL ON AFRICA.

In his introduction to Naylor's "*Daybreak in Africa*," Bishop J. C. Hartzell gives very hopeful testimony of the ability and possibilities of the African Negro. He says the native blacks are being tested as linguists, teachers, men of business, laborers

and Christians and are proving that they have great capabilities for success when properly understood and assisted.

Wilson S. Naylor, Beach Professor of Biblical Literature of Lawrence University, writes in a very optimistic vein of the capacities of the Native African in his "Daybreak in Africa." Bishop Hartzell says of Professor Naylor's fitness for his task:

The author is exceptionally well qualified to write on Africa. In addition to extended previous and subsequent research, he spent a year as my traveling companion, diligently studying at first hand, on both coasts and in widely separated sections, the continent and its people."

Naylor says, on page 49:

The African is nature's spoiled child. Throughout much of his continent, she is lavishly kind to him. She feeds him almost without the asking. She clothes him with tropical sunshine. If his necessities or his vanity calls for more covering, she furnishes it—again with no excess of labor on his part—from leaf or bark or skin. Everything that has to do with the primitive demands of his physical wellbeing is, as it were, ready at his command.

On page 69, Naylor says of the primitive African:

The African as he appears before civilization brings either its detrimental or its beneficial influences to bear on him, is exceedingly primitive. He has scarcely any aim beyond the securing of food and scanty clothing. Crafty towards a foe, he is exceedingly loyal towards a friend, especially to a loved superior. The devotion of Susi and Chuma to Livingstone (even after his death when they imperiled their own lives in taking his body to the coast) is representative of the African.

On pages 48 and 49, Naylor even has kinder words to say of the primitive African:

The primitive African is a good smith and potter when occasion requires; the other referring to civilized African, is both and more. His industry has responded to a desire for the things of civilization. He has taken to manufacturing and has become a weaver of cotton cloth, a dyer, a tanner, a maker of brick, of bark cloth, of baskets and mats. Such occupations furnish him with goods for barter. Or he has become a laborer and receives wages in native currency—so many brass rods, so many iron hoes, so many beads or cowries, so much of anything else that answers for money—or on the coast usually in actual money. The primitive African in grazing sections cares for small herds that he himself may occasionally fare sumptuously or may set a feast for an

honored guest; the other has the same use for cattle and goats and the advantage of trade. Everywhere, primitive or civilized, the African is a farmer, at least to the extent of supplying his own necessities.

Professor A. H. Keane is not so optimistic with regard to the native African's capacity to absorb and assimilate civilization. But Naylor is very hopeful. On page 42, Naylor says:

The Hausas, the traders of the Soudan, are among the most interesting and intelligent of its people. They possess characteristics which if brought the right sort of civilizing influences, as interior Africa is being opened to the world, should make them of inestimable worth in the furthering of the cause of Christianity among their countrymen.

He says again, on page 70:

The African is precocious when young, imitative and teachable always. Right example and incentive influence him as perhaps no other race of men.

But the finest tribute which Naylor pays to the Negro is found on pages 176 and 177 of his "Daybreak in the Dark Continent." Naylor says:

It is sometimes said, and more often implied, that the black man of Africa has no stability of character, no virile qualities that can be relied upon for sustained effort in the force of adversity. The history of African Christianity effectually discredits any such broad inference. It is a fact of supreme importance in estimating the probable permanence of mission work in Africa that those churches in which the Negro element exceeded the Caucasian outlived those in which the reverse was true. The churches dominated by the Greek, Roman, Jewish and other colonists of north Africa were all too quickly overcome by Islam. On the other hand, the Nubian church withstood Mohammedan fire and sword until the fifteenth century. The Ethiopian church finally became consolidated in Abyssinia, where it has since maintained its organization. Surrounded by Mohammedans on all sides for more than one thousand years those Abyssinian Christians have kept them at bay. So strong has been their influences in their country that it is only within recent years that Mohammedanism has gained any considerable footing there.

Very touching is Naylor's tribute to the grand old Negro Bishop, Samuel Adjai Crowther, who, in 1864, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford, and who afterwards was honored by a membership in the Royal

Geographical Society, because of his contributions to the Geography of Africa.

Booker T. Washington, on page 336 of his "Story of the Negro," Vol. II, says that Crowther helped to translate the Bible into the Yoruba language and his studies in the Nupé and Ibo languages are said to have shown unusual ability. Jesse Page has an excellent biography of him, entitled "Samuel Crowther."

Naylor's splendid tribute is found on page 253 of his work. He says:

Samuel Adjai Crowther is another conspicuous trophy of African missions. Born of the relatively inferior Yorubas, west of the lower Niger, he was captured by Fulah slavers in 1821, traded for a horse, consigned to a Portuguese slave ship, liberated by an English man-of-war, placed in a mission school at Freetown, Sierra-Leone, taken to England to complete his education, sent as a missionary to his own people along the Niger, consecrated Bishop of the Niger in Canterbury Cathedral in 1864, transferred to his eternal reward December 31st, 1891. Such, in brief, is the biography of an African slave and Christian freeman, one of the great missionary characters of the nineteenth century.

His influence among the natives of Africa is proven by the appeal of Molique, emir of Nupé, to Bishop Crowther to prevent the importation of rum into his country. Molique thus makes his pathetic appeal to Crowther:

Barosa (rum or gin) has ruined our country. It has ruined our people very much. It has made our people mad. I agree to everything for trade except barosa. We beg Crowther, the great Christian minister, to beg the great priest to beg the English queen to prevent bringing barosa into this land. For God's sake he must help us in this matter. He must not leave us to become spoiled.

Naylor says the appeal of Molique, king of Nupé, to Bishop Crowther is as full of judgment against civilization as of pathos for the African.

Momolu Mossaquai, prince of the Veis, Sierra Leone, who was educated at Tennessee College, and was one of the speakers at the World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893, wrote a telling article to the *Century Magazine*, April, 1905, in which he says: "If we have not advanced higher in the scale of civilization, neither had we (I speak again for my own people) until this fatal liquor was forced upon us, fallen so low as many."

On page 172 of his book, Naylor again refers to the avidity of the Negro and part Negro peoples for accepting Christianity. He says:

Impelled by the influence of such men, missionaries went out from Alexandria and other centers into Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia (including Nubia and Abyssinia) the island of Sokotra and among the fierce tribes of the borderland of the Sahara desert. This Missionary movement extended through several centuries. The response which was met from the Negro peoples to whom the gospel was thus carried is not definitely known, but aside from the permanent results in Egypt and Abyssinia, it is a matter of history that whole tribes were won to at least a nominal acceptance of Christianity.

But the most astonishing thing about Naylor's book is his foot note to page 172, wherein he says:

More than half of the twenty greatest names of the early churches from 150 to 400 A. D., and a like proportion of Christian writings of the same period, were North Africa. Athanasius, partly Negro, at least was one of the greatest of the church leaders.

Stop, pause and reflect. Think of the significance of that.

#### THE NEGRO OF WEST AFRICA.

(*Newport News*, September 30, 1896.)

Last evening in the Channing Memorial Church, Rev. Alexander Crummell, D.D., lectured before a good-sized audience composed of whites and blacks and containing many representative men, on "The Negro of West Africa." Rev. G. W. Cutter briefly introduced the speaker, who but for his dark face would pass for an elderly and scholarly Englishman. He was tall, rather spare, of an intellectual appearance, and his greyish hair, contrasting strongly with his dark features, gave him a more venerable appearance than the vigor of his speech indicated.

The address, which occupied about an hour and a quarter, was delivered in a voice that showed the speaker's English training. His language, of course, was polished; he spoke rapidly, without hesitation, and said more in an hour than some speakers would say in two. Though his love for the Negroes of the west coast, of which he is one, showed itself throughout his discourse, he was evidently trying to repress personal feeling and to give his hearers a good general idea of the various peoples who occupy that far-away and little known land.

He described the physical traits of the natives, saying they are generally strongly built, and vary as to physical proportions and complexion just as do the inhabitants of Europe, some being tall and magnificent in build, others spare, and others still stout and short. In color they vary from



the black of a dark Havana cigar to the tint of an American Indian; few are jet black. Their hair is longer than that of the American Negro, and the women have very long hair. Communism is universal. The land is held in common; when the fields are ready for planting the entire village turns out and prepares it. The women and children protect the fields from the birds, and at harvest time the chiefs lay out a section for each family, which gathers its own harvest. This communism extends also to the trades and skilled work. The missionaries have not been able to break through the crust of this custom, and it is only where the English or some other European nation has obtained possession that individuals own land, as here. Family life is universal; there are no unmarried women. When the girls are from ten to twelve years of age they are sent to a special place, where under the instruction of old women they are instructed in all the duties of married life, and when they come from these places are ready to become wives and are at once married. Polygamy is practiced everywhere, and though the families appear to get along well the custom produces a deal of trouble in married life and leads to many of the wars. When a man has three or four wives the oldest has charge of the household and the others obey her. The people are very industrious, practicing agriculture and having trades. There is a granary and special house for strangers and travelers, which none of the natives touch. A more hospitable and generous people as a whole cannot be found on earth, and where the tribes have not been disturbed by slave traders or riotous travelers a stranger, observing the customs of the people, can travel without being molested.

The lecturer gave a general account of the trade from the interior to the sea coast, where cotton, gold and other articles are manufactured with great skill, and whence a great commerce is carried on with European ports. He also described the gradual settlement of the leading commercial towns, Freetown, Legos and other ports, by the English; the conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity, their gradual growth in civilization, the education of the youth, both at home and in English colleges, and the great growth of the people in what would be called intellectuality; of the many native schools and colleges and their bright students, and the great advance of the people as a whole wherever civilization has been introduced; of the slave trade and its extinction, and of the travel of the natives along the coast in their big canoes made from trees.

Like all tropical peoples, the natives are very polite. The country is very beautiful. Dr. Crummell spoke particularly of the aptitude shown by the Negroes in assimilating European civilization and learning as well as Christianity, and of their wonderful growth since doing so. Civilization, he said, has proved too strong for the natives of America and the islands of the Pacific. It is building up a new race in Africa, and from the wonderful growth of these people during the century the speaker looks for a new race to come into the history of the world, to succeed the civilization of the present day with new vigor and ideas.

In strong contrast with the American Negro, the African is quiet and undemonstrative in religious matters, and a congregation in Africa resembles very much one in Europe or America. The morals of the people are good. The youth, as is natural in a polygamous country, are devoted to their mothers. The people are courageous, as the English have found during eighty years of warfare.

#### OSCAR PESCHEL ON AFRICA.

Oscar Peschel in his "Races of Man" is fair and discriminating in his estimation of the native African. On page 477 he says:

It must be added that of all semi-civilized nations the Negroes have most thoroughly elaborated their social jurisprudence. African judicial proceedings attract the curious as a theatrical performance does us; and in the contesting parties there is no want of dramatic excitement or lavish expenditures of eloquence and cunning.

The Bantu Negroes are masters in the art of perplexing an opponent by cross-questioning. Bishop Colenso declares that his scepticism as to the Mosaic history of creation was first aroused by the objections of his Kaffir pupils in Natal. . . . Among the Bantu Negroes a more refined idea of justice is shown by their considering the practice of causing abortion as punishable and inflicting a penalty also on the doctors by whose assistance the deed was accomplished. In cases of defamation of character compensation must be made to the injured person, for good reputation is wealth! . . . Their poets and bards need never starve, for the Mandingo rewards them liberally for songs in honor of the deeds of their nation. Very many proverbs giving golden rules for life are used by the Soudan and Bantu Negroes. . . .

Although some few tribes disgust us by their indolence, Otto Kersten cites instances of East African Negroes which show that they voluntarily endeavor to improve their circumstances by industry. The inhabitants of the Gold Coast exhibit their patience and skill in the manufacture of chains, and of the finest gold wire, which, as Bosman justly remarked, can scarcely be imitated in Europe. Schweinfurth pronounces the steel chains of the Mombuttu Negroes to be equal to any similar productions in Europe. In the Soso country, a southern district of the kingdom of Sokoto, the Negroes pave the inside of their courts with a sort of Mosaic. Lodislaus Magyar speaks of flint locks made by the natives of Bihe; Hamilton also saw guns among the Kissama Negroes, which had been made after Portuguese patterns and in Bambaro, Bambook, and Bornon, the Negroes make gun powder, and contrive to procure the necessary saltpetre in their own country. It must be added that the Hausa and Fulba, in Sokoto and also the Jolofers, manufacture a useful sort of soap from a decoction of earth nuts mixed with a lye of wood ashes. But the most ingenious achievement on the part of a Negro is the creation by a Vei of original characters, consisting partly of a

syllabic, partly of simple phonetic signs. In his youth, it is true, the inventor was educated by Europeans and was able to read, but he had to make an alphabetical analysis of his own language before he could invent the characters.

The Negroes possess in high degree both the power and the inclination to adopt the benefits of foreign civilization, but on the other hand they are extremely deficient in inventions of their own. . . .

After all that has been said, it would be quite unjustifiable to pronounce the Negro incapable of rising to a higher state.

#### KEANE ON AFRICA.

Keane has a high opinion of the Negroid peoples, but not of the pure Negro. On page 331 of Vol. I of his works on Africa, he says:

The best hope for the future of Soudan lies neither in the pure Hamitic and Semitic, nor still less in the pure Negro element, the former slaves to a blind religious fanaticism, the latter barred by inherent racial indolence and a low grade of intelligence. In the opinion of the latest observers, the brightest prospects of the land are bound up with the mixed Negroid peoples, who, with their industrious and peaceful habits, commercial spirit and natural intelligence, are capable, under wise European control, of indefinite material and moral progress. Here at least one great racial problem has been more satisfactorily solved by miscegenation, because the experiment has been unconsciously tried under the most favorable conditions, such as a climate as well suited for the intruders as for the aborigines, no excessive disparity between the fused elements, and sufficient time to allow for perhaps many partial failures before good average results were obtained. These results are by some ethnologists credited to the Negro race itself, and are appealed to as proof of its capacity to acquire unaided a comparatively high degree of culture. But the Hausas, Kanuri or other central Soudanese peoples are, as above shown, of mixed origin, and their civilization has been entirely developed under Mohammedan influences. The standard attainable by pure Negro communities left to themselves may be measured by the social usages prevalent amongst the people of Ashanti, Dahomey, and the Oil Rivers, with their degraded fetishism, and now abolished sanguinary "customs," or amongst the Niam-Niam and Mang-battu populations of the Welle basin, whose anthropophagism is not exceeded by that of any other tribe in the cannibal Zone.

I have all along contended that Keane was more of a scientist than a philosopher, more successful as a describer than an explainer, that he was more successful in making observations than in drawing conclusions from the observations, and more successful in unearthing facts than in drawing inferences from

facts. In a word, he is a keen observer but a poor reasoner. This is shown when on page 125 of Vol. II of his work on Africa, he quotes Colonel Ruffin, who makes wild and rambling statements, which any school boy can refute, as high authority. Keane says:

Even under wise and equitable European control the Negro proper is incapable of rising except by miscegenation, which involves a corresponding degradation of the higher class element. The late Colonel F. G. Ruffin, perhaps the best authority on the Negro question in the Southern States, declared that it was impossible to educate the colored people. Their industrial condition, their criminal record, their social, moral and religious state, all show that freedom is a disadvantage to them; that they are worse in all these particulars than they were before the war, and are deteriorating every day. . . . The Negro is incapable of receiving what white men call religion and education, and he is worse after professing to have received them than he was before.

And Keane, about to make the most absurd statement in his book, goes on to say:

It may be confidently asserted that no pure Negro population, ever produced such a personality as Calamba, "the intelligent and noble minded king of the Ba-Luba," who, Bateman tells us, "would amongst any people be a remarkable, and indeed, in many respects, a magnificent man," and who some years ago of his own accord abolished fetishism independently of any European influences. But steel-gray eyes are prevalent amongst the Ba-Luba, betraying a distinct Hamitic strain, and the Hamites are a main branch of the Caucasian or highest division of mankind.

In view of the record made by colored students in Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Columbia, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, Amherst, Williams and Brown; in view of the record made by colored students in the universities of Chicago and Pennsylvania; in view of the record made by colored students in English, Scotch, French and German universities; in view of the fact that thousands of colored students have graduated from state universities and denominational colleges in the South, it is indeed somewhat amusing to see Keane, the noted ethnologist, quoting Colonel Ruffin as authority in saying that it was impossible to educate the Negro.

It was possible for Calhoun to question the Negro's ability to master the Greek syntax seventy years ago, before Negro

students had taken graduate degrees, won fellowships and scholarships; won literary and oratorical prizes in the best European and American universities, and been honored as class orators, commencement speakers, and made debating teams in America's greatest universities. But how a scholar of the reputation of Keane can make that statement to-day passes human comprehension. It recalls the saying that sometimes even Homer nods.

And then, again, Keane, with the most absolute confidence goes on to make the most absurd statement in all his work. He says: "It may be confidently asserted that no purely Negro population ever produced such a personality as Calemba." Can it be possible that Keane never heard of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the greatest soldier and statesman that the Negro race has yet produced? Can it be possible that he never heard of Bishop Samuel Adjai Crowther, who received a D.D. degree from Oxford University in 1864, and spent twenty-seven years as a missionary bishop in Africa? Can it be possible that he never heard of Alexander Crummell, who received the A.M. degree from Cambridge University, and spent twenty years on the west coast of Africa as a missionary? In some respects the great Keane has the naïvety of a crude and unsophisticated schoolboy.

It is interesting that the lower classes of the Masai, whom Keane refers to as the Wa-Kwafi, and whose noses are of the Negro type, are also the most civilized. For he says, on pages 574-575 of Vol. II of his work on Africa:

But in natural intelligence the Masai, like all other Hamites, far surpass the most gifted Bantu peoples. Hence those who, like the Wa-Kwafi, have exchanged the spear for the spade, show themselves excellent husbandmen, founding peaceful agricultural communities in several districts, and developing many civic virtues, which speak well for the prospects of the land under an orderly government.

Thus the Wa-Kwafi, who have the largest infusion of the Masai tribe, are the most industrious and law-abiding and least predatory and lawless.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON ON AFRICA IN "THE STORY OF THE NEGRO."

Booker T. Washington's "The Story of the Negro," published in two volumes by Doubleday, Page & Company, while not a work

characterized by scientific accuracy and profound knowledge of anthropology and sociology, is on the whole one of the clearest and best histories of the Negro that has appeared since the publication of Williams' "History of the Negro Race."

Dr. Washington devotes the first four chapters and first eighty pages of the first volume to "The Negro in Africa." He presents a very interesting and readable account of the African Negro that is fairly accurate but not exactly scientific in details.

On pages 18 and 19 of his book he speaks of the Negro, the real black man, and intimates that the yellow Bushmen were not Negroes, and he quotes with seeming approval from George W. Stow, on the "Native Races of South Africa," who says:

It seems somewhat surprising that so many writers have continued to class these people (Bushman) with the Negroes or other dark-skinned species of men; whereas, if we are to judge from the physical appearance, with a solitary exception of the hair, no two sections of the human race could be more divergent.

On page 20 of the same book, Dr. Washington says:

After I had learned that the original African was not a black man, and not a Negro in the strict scientific sense of the word, etc.

Now, Professor A. H. Keane wrote on "The World's Peoples," as late as 1908, and the Publishers and Booksellers Journal says, Professor Keane is acknowledged to be the first ethnologist of the day. While sometimes hasty in drawing deductions from facts, Keane is unerring in his accuracy in presenting facts. On page 16 of the work referred to above, Professor Keane groups the Bushmen and Hottentots of the southwest Africa under the Negro or Black Race Division of mankind and under the sub-section, Soudanese (Negroes proper).

On pages 19 and 20 of his "The Story of the Negro," Dr. Washington says:

One who studies the books about Africa will read a great deal about the Negro who lives, as the books tell us, in the Soudan, a part of Africa that is often referred to as Negroland. . . . The true Negro, I learned, is only one section of what is ordinarily known as the Negro race; the other is the Bantu, a mixed people, generally brown in color, who were the first invaders of south Africa, driving out the original Bushmen, and gradually extending themselves over most of the part of the continent below the equator.

Dr. Washington thus refers to the Soudanese Negro living in Negroland as the "true Negro" and the Bantu as a "mixed people." But Professor A. H. Keane says on page 111 of his "The World's Peoples":

In Bantuland, comprising nearly all the southern section of the continent, the multitudinous Negroid populations often differ very little from the Soudanese Negroes. The assumption is that they are never full-blood but always half-caste blends of black with Caucasian Hamites or Semites. But we have seen that great numbers, in fact the majority, of the Soudanese are made up of the same elements, so that it is not surprising that the members of the two great divisions are not everywhere physically distinguishable from each other.

Thus Keane shows that the majority of the Soudanese Negroes are not pure Negroes, but are mixed people, made up of the same elements as the Bantu Negroes, and thus he would not sustain Dr. Washington in speaking of the Soudanese Negroes as the "true Negro" in opposition to the Bantu as a "mixed people."

Again, on page 16 of his work, Dr. Washington says:

I was much surprised, therefore, to learn that the Negro, the real Black man, is after all one of the earliest settlers of the continent, coming from somewhere else, probably Asia, no one knows exactly where or how.

The old theory of the science was that the cradle of the human race was in Asia. Now, Dr. Washington seems to share in this theory, for he speaks of the probability of the Negro, the real black man, coming from Asia. But I believe such acknowledged anthropologists as Peschel, Sergi and Keane would take issue with him.

On page 29 of his "The Races of Man," Oscar Peschel says:

We may, therefore, conclude that before the separation of their language, the whole of the Australians, the South Africans, the Aryan nations and the Americans possessed a common home, from whence they spread by migration.

But where is this common home? On page 32 of the same book Peschel states that only in southern Asia or Africa or a submerged continent in the Indian Ocean can we hope to find the original home of man, the starting point of human migration.

And he also believes that the chances of localizing the cradle of the human race in British India are diminishing, because "many precursory types of the present mammals have already been found." He bars out the lowlands of Siberia, because, "at a time geologically recent it was still covered by the sea." So the conclusion of Peschel would seem to be that the cradle of the human race is Africa or the submerged continent in the Indian Ocean.

Sergi partly confirms this theory in his "Mediterranean Race," for he states that the Mediterranean race, from which the early settlers in Greece, Rome, Spain and France, the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Arabs and Negroes sprang, dwelt on the north shore of Africa.

While Keane on page 29 of "The World's Peoples," speaks of "the subsidence of the former Indo-African Continent" and agrees with Peschel that there was a submerged continent in the Indian Ocean, he yet differs from him as to the original home of mankind. On page 2 of "The World's Peoples" he says:

As man is therefore essentially one, he cannot have had more than one primeval home. This human cradle, as we may call it, may now be located with some certainty in the Eastern Archipelago, and more particularly in the island of Java, where in 1892 Dr. Eugene DuBois brought to light the earliest known remains that can be described as distinctly human.

On page 5 of the same book he speaks of the human family originating in Malaysia.

Thus, while the distinguished Tuskegeean thinks the Negro came from Asia, Oscar Peschel thinks his original home was in Africa or the submerged continent in the Indian Ocean; Sergi thinks his original home was on the north shore of Africa, and Keane thinks his original home was on the island of Java. So we must probably not only abandon the theory that the original home of the Negro was in Asia, but we may be compelled to abandon the theory that the cradle of the human race was in Asia.

On pages 54, 55 and 56 of his work, Dr. Booker T. Washington gives an interesting account of the Fulahs and Hausas and the wonderful market of Kano. He speaks of the remarkable chieftain, Mohammed Askia, who thrived in 1492. He truly speaks of the Fulahs, who, under Othman dan Fodiye, conquered the Hausas in the early section of the ninth century, as being



noted for their military spirit, and the Hausas for their commercial enterprise. But he seems to overlook that the Hausas are experts in the manly art of self-defense and that pugilistic encounters are as popular among the Hausas as prize fighting in America and bull fighting in Spain.

On page 98 of "The World's Peoples," Keane says:

Although the Hausas are a courteous and, to some extent, even a polished people, the utmost ferocity is displayed by the professional boxers in their pugilistic exhibitions, which frequently result in the death of one of the combatants. In these encounters, which are extremely popular, the protagonist, that is, the last man who has "beaten the records," leads off by advancing nearly naked in the ring, when he challenges all comers by crying out defiantly, "I am a hyaena! I am a lion, I can kill all that dare oppose me." Then another champion takes up the challenge and the tussle begins by sparring with the left hand open and hitting with the right, the blows being generally aimed at the pit of the stomach and under the ribs. When they close, one will clasp the other's head under his arm and pummel it with his fist, at the same time using the knees against his thighs and often even attempting to choke him or gouge out one of his eyes. The object is not to throw but to disable; so that it is not a wrestling but a real boxing match, in which the "fight to a finish" is to be taken in the strictest sense of the expression.

Thus we see that the peaceful, law-abiding and commercial Hausas enjoy an old-fashioned bare-knuckled slugging match as much as the typical Anglo-Saxon or Celt, the two great fighting races of modern times. And we also see that the Hausa boxers imitate the tactics of John L. Sullivan, Sharkey, Battling Nelson and Frank Gotch. The whole world loves a fighter, that is why the American newspapers devoted more space to Jack Johnson than to Booker T. Washington, and as much space to Jeffries as to ex-President Taft. That is why the defeat of Sullivan by Corbett attracted as much attention and created as much of a sensation as Dewey's victory in Manila Bay, Roentgen's discovery of the X-ray, Marconi's sending a message by wireless telegraphy, and Cook's supposed discovery of the north pole. So in their admiration for the fighting man the Hausas are human and no different from the Greeks, Romans, Anglo-Saxons or Celts. Keane, however, did not write this passage to show that the Hausas have the innate love of a fighter, which all mankind has. But he wrote it to prove their brutality. I

will say, in passing, however, that prize fighting in America has been under the ban since a black man became champion.

Finally, I cannot better close this account of Africa than by quoting from the preface to Robert H. Milligan's interesting work on "The Jungle Folks of Africa." I believe that it is the surest and most illuminating statement about the Africans. Milligan says:

In the generations that have passed since the books of Du Chaillu were the delight of boys—old boys and young—the African has received but scant sympathy in literature. Du Chaillu had the mind of a scientist and the heart of a poet. He never understated the degradation of the African nor exaggerated his virtues, but he recognized in him the *raw* material out of which manhood is made. He realized that the African, like ourselves is not a finality, but a possibility, "the tadpole of an archangel," as genius has phrased it. But then, Du Chaillu lived among the Africans long enough to speak their language, to forget the color of their skin and to know them, mind and heart, as no passing traveler or casual observer can possibly know them.

In more recent books, the African is usually and uniformly presented as physically ugly, mentally stupid, morally repulsive, and never interesting. This is by no means my opinion of the African.

This book is an attempt to exhibit the human nature of the African, to the end that he may be regarded not merely as a being endowed with an immortal soul, and a candidate for salvation, but as a man whose present life is calculated to awaken our interest and sympathy; a man with something like our own capacity for joy and sorrow, and to whom pleasure and pain are very real; who bleeds when he is pricked and who laughs when he is amused; a man essentially like ourselves, but whose beliefs and whose circumstances are so remote from any likeness to our own that as we enter the realm in which he lives and moves and has his being we seem to have been transported upon the magic carpet of the Arabian fable, away from reality into a world of imagination—a wonderland, where things happen without a cause and nature has no stability, where the stone that falls downwards to-day may fall upwards to-morrow, where a person may change himself into a leopard, and birds wear foliage for feathers, where rocks and trees speak with articulate voice, and animals moralize as men—a world running at random and haphazard, where everything operates except reason and where credulity is only equalled by incredulity. Everywhere it is the unexpected that happens; in Africa it is the unexpected that we expect.

But while it is interesting to note what travelers have said about Africa, it is still more interesting to note what those who have made Africa the scene of their life-work have said about

her. Sir Arthur E. Kennedy, Colonial Governor half a century ago, and Hon. James Carmichael Smith, the author of numerous treatises and articles upon economics of high value, until recently Postmaster-General of Sierra Leone, have paid striking tribute to Africa's achievements and to her future.

#### A NEGRO BACHELOR OF SCIENCE.

The *Sierra Leone Weekly News* said at the close of an editorial, Saturday, August 24, 1912:

In our last issue we printed an item of news, small indeed, but full of interest for patriotic West Africans. The news to which we refer ran as follows:

"Among the successful graduates from the Birmingham University, England, recently, was George Debayo Agbebi of Lagos, West Coast of Africa, nephew of Dr. Mojola Agbebi of Lagos, who stood third in a class of fifty-seven, composed of Chinese, Japanese, East Indians, Scotch and English students. We understand Mr. Agbebi will take up civil engineering as a profession and is on his homeward voyage."

The heading of this piece of good news shows that Mr. Agbebi took his bachelor's degree in Science, and that he is also a Fellow, not of the Geographical, but of the Geological Society of Great Britain.

Further, the fact that young Agbebi hails from a British University of acknowledged status, where, perhaps the foremost man of science in the English world—Sir Oliver Lodge, is Principal, leaves not the smallest room for literary ridicule of any kind.

Mr. Agbebi's degree is a testimony from some of the highest authorities in the British Isles to his fitness in a branch of study which is being made so much of now-a-days.

It is right, therefore, we believe, that we should congratulate ourselves on this new item of blessing which Providence has bestowed upon us all.

When that young barrister and legal author of no mean calibre—now removed to a higher sphere, but to our great loss—Honorable J. Mensah Sarbah, C.M.G., of Accra, was decorated by His Majesty the King of England, we expressed the same sort of gratification which we take pleasure in expressing on the present occasion. Why? Because it is a rooted conviction in us that Lagos, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Gambia are one people—one in the deepest and truest sense; and not only so, but that, ultimately, these units may combine to form a West African Nation. Will geographical distance created by miles of intervening waters prevent this formation? Not when the hour strikes and the purpose of God must be fulfilled. We watch therefore with interest for every increasing sign of goodwill between us and our kinsmen, and rejoice at every blessing of theirs which is also ours and vice versa.

If there were people among us who would count our blessings—the blessings bestowed on us as a people, name them one by one, rather than keep croaking about what we have not yet become, they would see that there is indeed a Future for us. The man belonging to a race, which has two thousand years of civilization at its back, is absurd if he laughs at us anywhere. They are absurd, too, those Europeans who sneer at Liberia. And they are very absurd—those West Africans who cherish no hope for West Africa, their country. Our beginning is within easiest reach. We are only of yesterday. Yet have there not been some things remarkable about us? To a very appreciable extent we have profited ourselves, and profited even our rulers by the book-learning which the early Missionaries initiated among us. We have shown aptitude of the best kind for that sort of learning.

Just fifty years ago the testimony of a conscientious Colonial Governor, Sir Arthur E. Kennedy, was as follows:

"It would probably be thought unbecoming in me if I sat down without giving my unbiassed opinion with respect to the men whom we are seeking to liberate.—I have seen men of color as Ministers of the Gospel; I have had them as Servants, I have known them as Traders and Shopkeepers, and as Magistrates administering Justice; I have known them sitting in the highest seat of the Bench in the Colonies, as Advocates at the Bar; and I never had reason to doubt, but that these men were as honorable, as honest, and as conscientious as we who are white.

I go further: I could mention the name of Crowther, and others on the Coast of Africa to show that these men are capable of as high culture as most white men. I could mention many cases at this moment at Sierra Leone. I could point to men who have had the iron struck off from their limbs on board a slave ship, but who are to-day as civilized as I am myself, and are well to do, some of them worth thousands of pounds; and all of them loyal subjects of her Majesty. With these facts before us, gentlemen—and they are facts—I would beg with all heartiness to propose to you this resolution."

And during these fifty years, what has Time—what has God wrought! We have had graduates in Arts from almost all the British Universities and some in Divinity also from high-class Universities in the United States.

But whereas it has come, of late, to be the fashion to speak disparagingly of us as possessing only book-learning, Providence has once more interposed in this gift of a Bachelor of Science for which we ought to be both thankful and proud. We trust we have, in this achievement of our countryman, the beginning, in West Africa, of a new era of science graduates who will cause us to

Discern, unseen before,  
A path to higher destiny.

We wish Mr. Agbebi long life and a very prosperous career.

HILL STATION, SIERRA LEONE, WEST AFRICA,

31st July, 1911.

ARTHUR A. SCHOMBURG, ESQ.,

*Secretary of the Negro Society for Historical Research, No. 205  
West 115th Street, New York, U. S. A.*

*Dear Sir:*—I have received your letter posted at Hudson Term. Sta., New York, on the 10th instant, informing me that I have been unanimously elected as a corresponding member of The Negro Society for Historical Research.

Kindly convey my sincere thanks to the members of the Society for the honor they have thereby conferred upon me, whom you have never seen and whom you know only as one among the vast army of writers, most of whom appear, for a brief moment, upon the surface of the sea of literature and then disappear from sight and from memory altogether and forever.

Will you let me know the particular phase or phases of historical research to which the activities of the Society is destined to be devoted? If your objective is research relating to the history of African nations and peoples, it might be helpful if your Society could become affiliated, in some way, with The African Society of the United Kingdom. The address of this Society is: Imperial Institute, South Kensington, London, S. W.

This Society publishes a *Journal*, quarterly, and a copy of each of the back numbers and also of the current issues would make very substantial and valuable additions to the library of your Society.

This journal contains reasonably dependable information, so far as it goes, from thoroughly reliable sources; it contains the best information so far obtainable by the West concerning Africa and Africans; but we are only on the coast line of another vast sociologic continent or world.

Write to the Secretary at the Imperial Institute, and have a try for the back numbers of *The Journal of the African Society*.

This Society was originally founded as a memorial of the late Miss Mary Kingsley, who had visited West Africa several times, and who eventually died in South Africa during the period of our recent war which ended in the absorption of the Boer Republics into the British Empire.

Miss Kingsley had devoted several years of her life to the first-hand study, on the spot, of African customs and institutions; her writings on these subjects, developed in a popular style of her own, are interesting and illuminating, and they were, to a very considerable degree, influential in awakening the now world-wide interest in all matters relating, not only to the African geologic and biologic subjects, but also to the sociologic side of Africans as human beings, living together in organized societies, with the institutions of the Family, the State, the Church and

the School developed to a very considerable degree on well-marked, distinctive indigenous lines.

Sarbah's "Fanti Customary Law" (written by an African—a Fanti—who was a barrister-at-law, a member of the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast Colony, before his untimely death during the current year, His Majesty the King had conferred the honor of appointing him a Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George), contains a most lucid and scientific description of the social institutions of the Fanti People—a confederation of tribes who, in resisting absorption by the powerful neighboring Ashanti nation, allied themselves with the British nation under conditions which have so far resulted in the political breaking-up of the Ashanti nation, and in the establishing of the British nation as the paramount political power in that portion of West Africa.

Our rule is humane, and the present-day policy of the British government is to preserve and develop indigenous institutions and customs in so far as these are consistent with natural justice and humane conditions of life.

This beneficent and progressive policy which extends throughout the whole of British Africa—east, west, north and south—promises to bring the hitherto isolated peoples of Africa into living and constant contact with the European peoples, with the religious, political and intellectual influences of the Christian phase of the Western civilization.

There has been for centuries, and there is now, living and constant contact between the African and Asiatic peoples—of the African peoples with the religious, political and intellectual influences of the Islamic phase of the Eastern civilization.

These Western and Eastern influences modify in some degree, in diverse ways, almost unconsciously, the indigenous institutions and customs of the African peoples.

These influences are, in many ways, antagonistic to each other, and both are, in different ways, antagonistic to the indigenous African sociologic ideas and influences; but there are also numerous basic points of harmony which is the reasonable ground of the hope that the African peoples, who are now again entering upon the heritage of all the ages of man (in common with the European and Asiatic peoples), who are now gathering together within the human area wherein all the vitalizing streams of progress flow in and flow out (leaving the fertilizing deposit which is engendered by human contact—as steel sharpens steel—and which make up and sustain the present-day progressive civilization of both the West and the East), meet and mingle, will, from these abundant supplies of wisdom, and of folly also, select those things which are helpful and useful, and reject those things which are hurtful and useless, and absorb for their own use and benefit the things which make for life, which appertain unto life, unto ever more and more abundant life, if not in quantity then in variety of harmonious manifestation, resting

upon the coöperative commonwealth (which is the economic basis of the African State—a State which guarantees and realizes economic security for each and every member of an African tribe, from cradle to grave), and so build up for themselves, in a good will, the African nations of the future, resting securely upon those things which remain forever and ever, upon those things which cannot be shaken—even justice, truth and the saving faith in the common fatherhood of the one ever-living God, and in the common Brotherhood of the one ever-living human race.

I am leaving here for Europe on 2/8/11 until the end of the current year. My address in Europe is given at the beginning of this letter.

Yours faithfully,

JAS. C. SMITH.

NOTE.—The writer of this splendid letter is a colored man, who was born at San Salvador, Bahamas, July 30, 1852, and received his early education at the Nassau Grammar School. He taught in New York State between the years 1872 and 1876. He served as assistant postmaster-general of Sierra Leone, British West Indies, from 1896 to 1900, and as postmaster-general and manager of the savings bank from 1900 to December, 1911, when he retired on a pension. He has written nearly a dozen books upon economics, one of which, "Intertemporary Values," or "The Distribution of the Produce in Time," was highly praised by the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald* and other English papers. "The Double Standard Money System" and "Legal Tender" are other noted works. Both as an administrator and writer upon economic questions, Hon. James Carmichael Smith has reflected credit upon the entire colored race. Perhaps he is the most distinguished writer upon economic questions that the colored race has yet produced.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### *Hayti, the Black Republic.*

Situated in the Atlantic Ocean, about four times as long and six times as wide as Long Island, with a salubrious climate, with a virgin soil that is wonderfully rich and fertile, with hills and valleys covered with large, splendid trees and perfume-laden flowers, Hayti, with her colored population of two million, is indeed an ideal spot for a Black Republic.

And then, when we come to her inhabitants, we find them the most interesting colored people in the world; brilliant in mind, brave and proud and haughty in spirit, generous and hospitable in disposition, mercurial and impressionable in temperament, speaking the French language fluently, admiring and assimilating French ideals of chivalry, honor and freedom and liberty, but lacking the sanity, sobriety, steadiness and stability of the Anglo-Saxons. But the Haytiens are really colored Frenchmen, with French manners, customs, religion, dress and buildings. Haytien women are noble and self-sacrificing. And some are as beautiful and brilliant as those who have figured in French history. And the history of Hayti is the history of France in miniature. The history of France in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been reënacted in Hayti in the nineteenth century.

Hayti started her history as a republic in a blaze of glory. The Haytien Revolution was started by the free mulattoes catching the spirit of the French Revolution and clamoring for their political rights. Then, under Toussaint L'Ouverture, a herdsman and coachman, who devoted his leisure hours to study, the Haytiens rose en masse (the black slaves catching the spirit of the free mulattoes), threw off the English, French and Spanish yoke, and adopted a constitution. Trapped by Napoleon, Toussaint was confined in a damp cell, where he died from cold and hunger. But the Haytiens did not despair; under Dessalines, a black Atilla, they rallied and avenged the death of Toussaint by crushing and expelling the French. Over fifty



thousand brave Frenchmen lost their lives in the vain attempt to subjugate Hayti. The strategy of Toussaint and the fierce impetuosity of Dessalines proved too formidable a combination for the French.

To the superficial observer, Hayti's history has been one of war and bloodshed, of civil wars and dissensions. Dessalines, the liberator and first president of Hayti, was assassinated, his very companions and brothers-in-arms, Henri Christophe and Petion, joining in the revolt against him. Then Henri Christophe and Petion became formidable rivals and bitter enemies, and divided Hayti into two separate governments, Christophe ruling the State of Hayti or northern half of the island in regal pomp and splendor as king, while Petion ruled the Republic of Hayti or southern half of the island as president.

Petion governed the Republic of Hayti, universally loved and admired from his election in March, 1807, to his death in March, 1818. So great was his popularity and so high was the esteem in which he was held, that on the day after his death the Senate met and elected Jean Pierre Boyer, his pet and favorite, as president for life. But Petion is the only Haytien president who died universally beloved and esteemed and whose career closed in a blaze of glory.

King Christophe's followers deserted him for Petion and Boyer, the president of the Republic. Finally his own bodyguard deserted him and then the lion-hearted Christophe shot himself. Then Jean Pierre Boyer, the successor of Petion, ruled as president of the whole island from 1822 to 1843, when he resigned because of a revolt led by Major Charles Herard, surnamed Riviere, who then became president. But Herard's lease of official life was very short, for in 1844 an insurrection of the peasants under Jean-Jacques Acaan broke out and Herard left Hayti the same year. Then the aged General Guerrier, who died the following year, became president. Then in 1845, General Pierrot was elected president, but resigned in 1846 because of his unpopularity. Riche was proclaimed president in March, 1846, defeated the insurgent Acaan, overworked himself and died in February, 1847.

Then from 1847 to 1849 Fastin Soulouque was president. In 1849 he was proclaimed emperor and assumed monarchical

powers. Like Dessalines, Christophe and Charles Herard, he became a despot, an autocrat, and a dictator. General Fabre Geffrard led an insurrection, and, with a powerful army behind him, compelled Soulouque to resign and leave Hayti in 1859. Thus ended monarchy in Hayti. Geffrard was appointed president in 1859 and accepted the presidency for life but he, like so many of his predecessors and successors, rode roughshod over the democratic ideals of liberty and freedom, which had become dear to the Haytien heart. Dissension and dissatisfaction resulted. Major Sylvain Salnave led an armed insurrection. The commander of the British man-of-war *Bulldog* became involved in difficulties with the insurgent steamer *Providence* and fired on Cape Haytien, the headquarters of the insurgents. Then the *Galatea* and other British gun boats bombarded the place. Though this insurrection was crushed through foreign aid, as Jacques Legers put it, "the Haytiens always look askance on the interference of foreigners in their affairs. The balls of the English cannon had as it were, deeply wounded the national pride. They caused all the good done by Geffrard to be forgotten. He completely lost his popularity." Finally, in 1867, his pet regiment, the "Tirailleurs," rebelled and attacked the executive mansion, and the broken-hearted Geffrard resigned the presidency in 1867 and sailed for Jamaica.

Then, in 1867, Major Sylvain Salnave, the leader of the insurgents, was elected president. He, too, erected a despotism which rivalled that of his predecessors. Though in his administration, the constitution abolished the presidency for life, he out-Roosevelted Roosevelt in dominating the legislature and wielding the big stick, and followed in the footsteps of Cromwell by driving the congressmen, who seemed to sympathize with General Leon Montes, suspected of stirring up a rebellion among the peasants, out of the House of Representatives and suspending the constitution and reëstablishing the presidency for life. This Haytien Cromwell even called himself "Protector of the Republic," but he was not the match for Cromwell in crushing his enemies, although like Cromwell he relied upon his arms to crush his foes. Nissage Saget, Boisrond Canal and the most powerful men in Hayti joined in the uprising against Salnave, who was besieged in Port au Prince. Then, too late, he appointed a

legislative council, which reënacted the constitution of 1846 and reëstablished the presidency for life.

Then, in 1870, General Nissage Saget, the leader of the uprising, was elected president for four years. He served out his time of office, although he refused to remain in power until his successor could be elected. General Michel Domingue was appointed president in 1874 and overthrown in 1876, because of bad financial measures and because of the killing of Pierre and Brice, the leaders of the conspiracy against him.

Then, in 1876, General Boisrond Canal, one of the leaders of the uprising against Salnave and Domingue, was elected president, but in the year 1879, of his own free will, he resigned because he was weary of internal dissensions, party strife and foreign intervention. But he still retained his hold on the esteem of his people, for in 1888 when President Salamon resigned and in 1902 when President Sam resigned, Boisrond Canal was appointed president of the Provisional Government, which restored order and maintained authority. His legal advice was sought in the civil war between Hyppolite and Legitime, and for a quarter of a century after his resignation in 1879, Boisrond Canal has been a Nestor in the councils of his people.

It is said that when the European Powers wanted legal justification of Hyppolite's course, Boisrond Canal was sought for. He was found in his hiding place in a barn. Without reading a book or pamphlet, or searching for notes, Boisrond Canal, on the spur of the moment, wrote down the legal justification for Hyppolite's course.

The respect and veneration paid by the Haytiens to the judgment and discretion of ex-President Boisrond Canal is the one bright spot in her history, the one fact which indicates that ultimately she will attain to self-government. We in America have never had a president who, in his retirement from office, has been the power in the councils of his nation that Boisrond Canal has. I regard him as the greatest statesman Hayti has produced since Toussaint L'Ouverture and Petion.

But to return to our story. In 1879, Lysius Salamon, ex-Haytien Minister to France, who had studied abroad, was elected president of Hayti for a term of seven years. Like Boisrond Canal, he faced the Domingue loan, difficulties with the United

States over the Pelletier and Lazore affair, but he came out all right, established a national bank, gave Hayti her first submarine telegraph, secured her admission to the Universal Postal Union, held a national agricultural exposition and organized a strong law school. So wise and able a ruler was he that the constitution which prohibited reelection was modified, and in 1886 Salomon was reelected for another term of seven years.

Then the Haytiens became alarmed at his growing power; it seemed that he was reestablishing the presidency for life. General Seide Thelemache led the insurrection and rebelled in 1888 and made a move upon Port au Prince. Then Salomon resigned and sailed for France. Thus ended the rule of the ablest administrator Hayti has had since the immortal Tous-saint and wise Petion. And now follows the civil war that divided Hayti into two warring camps and armed bands.

General Seide Thelemache and Tughtmore, secretary of agriculture, were candidates for the presidency. The outcome was in doubt. General Seide Thelemache was shot and killed soon after he left his tent for the purpose of stopping the row which might assume serious proportions between his soldiers and Legitime's partisans. The northern and northwestern section of Hayti, which was loyal to Seide Thelemache, regarded Legitime as the moving cause of Seide Thelemache's death and demanded the withdrawal of his candidacy, and organized a provincial government, of which General Hyppolite was appointed president. The constituents of the southern and western sections then elected Legitime president in December, 1888. Legitime took possession of the palace.

General Hyppolite was victorious in arms. His brother, General Reno Hyppolite, was about to descend from his mountain stronghold and bombard Port au Prince, when Legitime left the palace and sailed from Port au Prince in August, 1889.

Hyppolite ruled wisely and well—building wharves, markets, canals and roads and constructing telegraph lines—from 1889 until he was stricken with apoplexy in 1896. His administration is memorable from the fact it was during his presidency that the United States in vain attempted to secure the Mole Saint Nicholas for a naval and coaling station; and, holding Frederick Douglass rather than Rear Admiral Gherard responsible for the failure, replaced him by Durham.

General T. Simon-Sam served as president from 1896 to 1902, when he resigned because of a misunderstanding as to the tenure of his office. And now the heroic figure of Nord Alexis first comes before the public gaze. He made other men presidents by his sword, and finally he made himself president by his sword. The *Current Literature Magazine* for June, 1908, says that he is the most brilliant leader Hayti has had since Toussaint L'Ouverture.

General Nord Alexis was born about 1820. His father was a high official and a favorite in King Christophe's court. But young Nord Alexis, while still in his teens, cherished and nourished heroic dreams in the garden of Milot and around the palace of San-Souci and became enamored of republican ideals. When a youth of about seventeen years of age, he left the luxury of court life, fled from court and became an outcast and wanderer, facing bitter poverty and social ostracism. He scattered the seeds of revolution wherever he went and impregnated his countrymen with his own republican ideals and love of liberty. He was among the ardent spirits of the revolution of 1843. Since that time, he has been a foremost figure in every revolution that Hayti has had. He was a ringleader in the revolt of 1869 which overthrew Salnave and was a member of the Provisional Government that was organized then. In 1872 he was in command of the Haytien army. He was the victorious commander-in-chief of Hyppolite's forces; and was secretary of war when A. Firmin, minister plenipotentiary to France, and former secretary of the treasury and of exterior relations, Senator Senegne M. Pierre and C. Fouchard, former secretary of the treasury, were rivals for the presidency, with the odds slightly in favor of Firmin. But Admiral Killick, Firmin's friend, became involved in difficulties with the German gunboat *Panther*, because he seized the German steamship *Markomania*, took the arms and ammunition which were sent to Nord Alexis, a member of the Provisional Government, to restore order at Cape Haytien. Killick blew up himself and his ship, the *Crete-a-Pierrot*, rather than surrender her to the Germans. Then Firmin's fortune began to wane. The election was a tangled skein and Gordian knot, which the National Assembly unravelled and cut by electing Nord Alexis president in 1902, when he was eighty years old. And he remained president eight years, though beset with foes within

and without. The friends of Firmin, dissatisfied because Nord Alexis in reality turned against his chief and friend, seized the presidency, by virtue of having a strong army behind them. During the years 1907 and 1908 seeds of discontent and dissatisfaction began to be sown. But Nord Alexis promptly nipped the conspiracy in the bud by seizing and putting to death the leaders of the uprising. And he remained serenely in the possession of the palace, although the foreign ministers advised him to resign and abdicate. In December, 1908, the revolt became too strong. Nord Alexis was forced to retire from office, and General Simons was declared president.

Such, in brief, is the history of Hayti as I gathered it in the brilliant work on "Hayti, Her History and Her Detractors," by Jacques Leger, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Hayti in the United States. What shall we say of it? A superficial glance seems to reveal Hayti's incapacity for self-government. Out of nineteen rulers, only two, Toussaint L'Ouverture, her national hero, and Petion, the father of the Republic, died or retired from office with as strong a hold upon the affections of the people as when they entered upon their official duties. Guerrier and Riche, like Petion, died in the harness, but they were not at the head of affairs long enough to prove their mettle as rulers. Dessalines was assassinated. Salnave was put to death. King Christophe shot himself when his bodyguard deserted him. Nine presidents, Boyer, Charles Herard, Pierrot, Soulouque, Geffrard, Domingue, Salamon, Legitime and Simon Sam were overthrown or forced to retire. Five of these, Boyer, Herard, Geffrard, Domingue and Salamon, died away from Hayti. Even the brilliant and popular Boisrond Canal and the successful Nissage Saget, growing tired of internal dissensions, after their term of office had expired, refused to serve as president until their successors could be appointed or elected. And even the strong and forceful Nord Alexis was compelled to crush a conspiracy by force.

But the history of Hayti is not so confused and baffling as a surface impression would indicate. Three facts combine to give Hayti her revolutionary history. In the first place, so many of her popular leaders, on becoming president became despotic and autocratic, as did Cæsar, Cromwell and Napoleon, three other

champions of the people as against the aristocrats. Then, too, the Haytien people, like the French, love liberty as they love their lives. The love of freedom is innate with them. They are jealous of their rights, and they naturally grew impatient when the supposed champions of Haytien liberty and freedom became dictators. This would naturally explain why the people rose up against tyrants like Dessalines, Christophe, Herard, Salnave, Soulouque and Domingue, or against a Legitime who was suspected of having inspired the assassination of his rival for the presidency; but it does not explain why Boyer, Pierrot, Geffrard, Salamon and Simon Sam, who were not despots and autocrats, became unpopular and were forced out.

A third fact is needed to explain the constant series of revolutions and insurrections in Haytien history. The human ambition of those who are out of office to get in, the natural jealousy of men who see their peers or inferiors elevated above them, explains why aspiring and ambitious Haytien statesmen and politicians took advantage of every mistake of the presidents and fanned the smouldering embers of dissatisfaction into the blaze of a formidable revolt. All these natural facts explain why Hayti is constantly in the state of an active volcano; but it does not explain why no Haytien ruler, except Petion, completely captivated the hearts and minds of his countrymen; for it is a fact of history that, during the past one hundred years, the Haytiens have shown less self-control and more of a mercurial, fickle, changeable and exciting temperament than any other nation in the world.

Although Hayti has been nominally a Republic since 1806, the rule of the majority has not been the predominating factor in Haytien history. The motto, "Might makes Right," and the Napoleonic dictum, "God is on the side of the strongest battalion," have been the guiding stars in Haytien history. One Haytien statesman has not respected the theoretical and abstract rights of his rival for the presidency. Unless that rival is ready and able and willing to back up his rights by military force, he has little chance of winning or holding the presidency. The dispute between Hyppolite and Legitime should have been settled by a popular vote rather than by arms. The will of the majority of Haytien voters rather than the action of the National Assembly should have decided whether Nord Alexis or Firmin should

be president. In a word, Hayti has been a republic in name only. The internal dissensions and civil wars have depleted her treasury and prevented the development of her rich agricultural and mineral resources.

Still this does not demonstrate the inherent and innate capacity of the Negro race for self-government. And I would not by any means go as far as Professor William Pickens of Talladega College, Alabama, who won the Ten Eyck prize speaking contest at Yale in 1903, by advocating that because Hayti has failed to exhibit the calm, judicial mind and superb self-control of the Anglo-Saxon, she has failed in self-government and should be absorbed by the United States. She would secure a more stable form of government, but under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon would lose her manliness and self-respect.

We must take three things into consideration. First, French rather than Anglo-Saxon blood flows in the veins of the Haytien mulattoes, and French, rather than Anglo-Saxon ideals dominate Hayti. This partly explains the hot blood, the excitable nature, and mercurial temperament of the Haytiens. Then, too, there is the natural antipathy and jealousy between the blacks and the mulattoes. Then we must remember that the history of Hayti has not been unlike that of Rome in the last century of the Republic and in the Empire. We must remember, too, that Hayti has only exhibited, though in a more aggravated form, the same symptoms and characteristics which France and the Latin republics of South America have manifested during the nineteenth century. This explains why the history of Hayti, in some respects, has not been unlike that of Rome, Florence, Venice, France and the South American republics.

But the real reason why Hayti has not had the just and equitable government of the United States is that for over two thousand years the Teutonic race has had some form of self-government in the German forests and British Isles, and that the American colonists, prior to the Revolutionary War, had one and a half centuries of local self-government in America, while Hayti, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, leaped at a bound from chattel slavery and barbarism to a self-governing republic. The mystery is not her revolutions and counter revolutions; but that Hayti has done as well as she has. Hayti had to step from



barbarism to civilization, from slavery to self-government within the space of ten years; while the Anglo-Saxon race has had two thousand years to rise from barbarism to civilization, from serfdom to self-government. It would be the supreme miracle of history if Hayti, in a century, could gain that regard for the rights of others and that self-control which it has taken the Anglo-Saxon race two thousand years to acquire.

The fact that the Haytiens have an innate and inborn love of liberty and freedom, the fact that she has always maintained the form of a republic, the fact that the republic is her ideal form of government, is a hopeful sign for the future.

I believe that in Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, Christophe, Petion, Boyer, Boisrond Canal, Salamon, Seide Thelemache, Hyppolite and Nord Alexis, Hayti has produced ten powerful and masterful personalities. I have already referred to the statesmanship of Boyer, Boisrond Canal, Salamon and Hyppolite. I will now say a few words about the personal greatness of the other six. I believe that it is nothing short of miraculous that a race of slaves, just emerging from slavery, could produce four such remarkable characters as Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, Christophe and Petion, men who were endowed by nature with the genius to organize men and marshal forces and who possessed that heroic quality of soul which enabled them to inspire their own countrymen with their own dauntless spirit. Boyer, Boisrond Canal, Salamon and Hyppolite were possibly their equals as statesmen. But Nord Alexis is the only Haytien since their day who possessed their abilities to master and dominate men and command men on the field of battle. Nord Alexis is the only great soldier that Hayti has produced since the deaths of the four imperial spirits who gave Hayti her independence. In Boyer, Boisrond Canal, Salamon and Hyppolite, Hayti has produced four leaders who could demonstrate that the Negro race could produce constructive statesmen, but in Toussaint, Dessalines, Christophe, Petion and Nord Alexis, Hayti has produced five characters who almost rival Cæsar, Cromwell, Napoleon and Washington in their ability to lead and master and dominate men.

Almost every schoolboy in the land is familiar with that incomparable oration of Wendell Phillips in which he rates

Toussaint as a general over Cromwell and Napoleon, because, while Napoleon from a boy was trained in one of the best military schools of France and at the age of twenty-seven was placed at the head of the best troop Europe ever saw, and because, while Cromwell, who never saw an army until he was forty, manufactured his army out of sturdy, rugged English men with which he conquered Englishmen, their equals; yet this Toussaint, who never saw a soldier until he was fifty, out of a mass of slaves manufactured an army that defeated the best troops England and France and Spain could send against him. Then Phillips ranks Toussaint as a statesman above Cromwell, Napoleon and Washington, because the state Cromwell founded went down with his death, because Napoleon made his way to empire over broken oaths and through a sea of blood, while the great Virginian held slaves. And Phillips closed that sublime oration by picturing the muse of history dipping her pen in the sunlight and writing in the clear blue above the names of Phocian, Brutus, Hampden, Lafayette, Washington and John Brown, the name of the soldier, the statesman, the martyr, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Possibly in his prophetic rapture, Wendell Phillips overshot the mark and was guilty of rhetorical exaggeration. But it seems to me, that for a man, who was born a slave, who was self-educated, who was a herdsman and coachman for the first fifty years of his life, who had no military training and who never saw a soldier until he was fifty, to weld a lawless and chaotic mass of slaves into a formidable fighting machine, drive out the Spanish and English and then crush the flower of the French Army, defeating the finest troops Napoleon could send against him, is one of the miracles of human history. And then, for this modern Moses to construct a stable government out of these unstable elements, having broad cosmopolitan and not narrow race ideals for Hayti, makes truth stranger than fiction and lifts history to the realms of the marvelous. Though his military operations were on a smaller scale than those of Hannibal, Alexander, Cæsar, Cromwell, Napoleon and Grant, though he did not face the complicated problems of government that Cæsar, Cromwell, Napoleon, Washington and Lincoln faced, yet the manner in which he mastered the situation, marshaled his forces and con-

trolled events stamps him as a constructive military and political genius of the highest order. If I would liken him to the great men of the past, I would call him the Moses, or Bruce, or Alfred of his race.

Dessalines who, like Joshua of old, completed the work that Toussaint began, by completely crushing the French, could with difficulty sign his own name. Ignorant and illiterate, he couldn't compare with Toussaint as a statesman, but he blended the dash and intrepid courage of a marshal Ney, with the fierce, reckless daring of an Attila. He swept down upon the French with the fury of a hurricane, the resistless force of a torrent, and the momentum of an avalanche that sweeps everything before it. He took these poorly-fed and poorly-clothed slaves and peasants, put guns into their hands, breathed into their hearts his own ferocious spirit and demoniacal energy and fell upon the French as the tiger springs upon its prey. He was here, there, and everywhere. Enticed to breakfast with Father Videons, where French soldiers were in hiding to capture him, he was warned of impending danger by an ominous gesture from an old woman in the employ of the rector. In a moment he was out of the house and upon his horse, firing his pistols and rallying his men. And before the French soldiers had recovered their wits Dessalines was attacking Petite Riviere. Compared to the rapidity of his movements and the quickness of his combinations, Stonewall Jackson and Phil Sheridan were like cart horses. Such wild, reckless energy, such demoniacal fury has not been seen on the field of battle since the days of Attila.

The French bought ferocious bloodhounds to help crush the natives. The French general, Pierre Boyer, to whet the French thirst for blood, tied his black servant to a post, carved and tore open his stomach and then dragged a bloodhound to tear him to pieces. But Dessalines' motto was, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." At L'Acul General Rochambeau slaughtered his black prisoners. Then, with the French army looking on, powerless to interfere, Dessalines hung the captured French officers and privates on gibbets, and routed the French army. Dessalines communicated his own spirit to his followers and they fought like demons. At Charrier General Capois's horse was hit by a cannon ball. Horse and rider fell to the ground,

but in the twinkling of an eye, Capois was on his feet, leading his men again with waving sword. Even General Rochambeau complimented him upon his courage and presence of mind. Dessalines would not be denied, he would not let up. He fought as the Greek heroes fought before Troy, as the Crusaders fought in the Holy Land, as the knights fought in Froissart's Chronicles. Finally General Rochambeau gave up the contest in despair and Dessalines remained master of the island. But unfortunately the very rash and reckless qualities which made him invincible as a warrior, made him despotic and tyrannical as a ruler, though he maintained law and order in Hayti. Trained from boyhood in the school of war, Dessalines relied more upon force than suasion and, with a powerful army behind him, ruled with a rod of iron. Finally he was assassinated.

And now we come to the imperial and kingly Christophe, a general under Dessalines, and Hayti's first king. Tall and commanding in person, a born aristocrat, loving display and luxury, with the masterful spirit of a Cæsar, Christophe believed that Hayti needed not a democratic form of government but the iron hand of a master and a strong centralized government. Just as at the close of the Revolutionary War, Washington, Adams, Madison, and Hamilton believed in a centralized Federal government, while Thomas Jefferson believed in State rights and State sovereignty, and as Webster and Calhoun continued the controversy which the Civil War settled, so Hayti, from 1806 when Christophe was elected president, until 1869 when Salnave was executed, was hanging in the balance between the autocratic and democratic form of self-government.

The heroic Christophe stood forth as the champion of autocracy, while the tactful and lovable and scholarly Alexander Petion, a mulatto whose wise counsel prevailed upon the other generals and leaders to recognize Dessalines as commander-in-chief, thus welding the Haytien forces into a unity, like Abraham Lincoln, believed in a government of the people by the people and for the people. These two tendencies opposed each other. Each was too strong to be vanquished by the other. Finally, Christophe realized his ideal in the northern half of the island, while Petion realized his ideal in the southern half of the island. Christophe shot himself because his followers deserted him for

Petion and Petion's follower, Boyer, while Petion died loved and honored throughout the island.

Petion was the more farseeing statesman, because the trial and execution of Salnave, in 1869, proved once and for all that Hayti had accepted Petion's rather than Christophe's ideal of government. Christophe represented the eighteenth century ideals, while Petion was in the currents of modern thought.

But no Feudal baron or lord ruled with greater pomp and magnificence, or with a more regal sway than Henry Christophe. He built at Milot the palace of Sans-Souci which, rising upon a plateau, with trees around it and with lofty mountains as a background, rivals in picturesque splendor and solemn grandeur any castle on the Rhine. Then, on the summit of Bounet-a-l'Eveque, at an elevation of three thousand feet, he built the citadel of La Ferriere, which Jacques Leger calls the best testimonial of Christophe's genius, and of which Edgar-La-Selve, a French critic of Hayti, said, "Nowhere in France, England or in the United States have I seen anything so imposing. The citadel of La Ferriere is truly a marvelous thing." And Leger further says of Christophe:

The man who conceived and caused such a work to be constructed was certainly wonderful. Born and bred beneath the brutalizing system of slavery, Henri Christophe proved himself to be tactician, legislator and statesman. His faults were the result of a system of government from which he had suffered greatly. Fond of progress, he thought he could force it on his countrymen regardless of the time wanted for the evolution. In consequence he resorted to methods which made him unpopular. Thus one only thinks of the violence of his temper and his harsh measures, forgetting the results arrived at. Owing to the worthiness of his intentions, to the impulse given by him to agriculture and to the prosperity which his kingdom enjoyed, Christophe is deserving of impartial appreciation. Foreigners are unfortunately too eager to ruthlessly condemn him.

Undoubtedly Christophe was a Charlemagne, a Cæsar, a Washington, or a Bismarck in the imperial greatness of his soul and the dignity of his nature. He was probably the most kingly and patrician figure that the Negro race has yet produced. His death was heroic. He was stricken by apoplexy while attending devotion in the church at Limondale. When his followers were rebelling, paralyzed as he was, Christophe had his attendants rub his paralyzed limbs with rum and pepper. Then in vain he

tried to mount and ride his horse in order to lead and inspire his deserting followers with the old enthusiasm. The spirit was willing but the flesh was weak. Though too feeble to mount and ride a horse, his lion heart did not yield. He was placed in a chair and carried to a spot in front of his palace, where he urged his bodyguard to crush the insurgents who were entrenched at Cap. But no sooner had his favorite bodyguard left him, when they were no longer dominated by his magnetic presence, than they spontaneously cried out, "Vive la liberte." Their loyalty to their republican ideals proved stronger than their loyalty to their old chief and commander. Just as Cæsar's heart broke when he saw Brutus, whom he loved, among his assassins, so Christophe's lion heart broke when his own bodyguard deserted him. With remarkable coolness and rare presence of mind, he prepared for his death. He sent for his wife and children and told them of his love and devotion. Then he took a bath and put on a spotless white suit and placed a pistol at his heart. The sound of a shot was heard and Christophe's family hurried to his room, only to find that he had died in the same kingly manner in which he had lived. The fate of King Lear was tragic, the death of Cæsar was heroic, but I know of nothing in history more tragic and sublime than the paralyzed old king, vainly endeavoring to mount and ride his horse and lead his army, vainly endeavoring to force his weak body to respond to his iron will, and then, when his old guard deserted him, ending his life in the dramatic manner in which he did. I believe that the dark spot in Hayti's history is the desertion of Christophe's bodyguard. It would have been noble for them to have deserted him and joined the republican cause if he were strong and vigorous, but for them to have deserted, when feeble and paralyzed, the king whose fortunes they had followed and who had showered honors upon them, strikes me as nothing short of base ingratitude and rank cowardice.

But Christophe was not the only Haytien who faced death in an imperturable manner and with a Spartan courage. It is said that when Seide Thelemach was assassinated, he feebly waved his sword and cried out, "Venge ma mort, venge ma mort," and then expired; and that Hyppolite and Nord Alexis rushed to the mountains, told the story of Seide Thelemach's

death, and thus launched from the mountains the avalanche that overwhelmed Legitime. Then we must remember how Haytien pride and Haytien spirit caused the heroic Admiral Killick, the champion of Firmin, to blow up himself and his ship, the *Crete-a-Pierrot*, rather than surrender her to the German gunboat *Panther*. Leger thus describes his death :

Sending his crew ashore, he lighted a fuse connecting with the powder machine. Having done this he seated himself on deck, lit a cigar, and quietly waited the explosion which was not long in taking place. Rather, than give her up to the Germans, he preferred to sacrifice his life in the destruction of his ship.

If any one doubts the courage of the Negro, let him go to Hayti and read her history. It teems with daring and heroic achievements.

And now we come to Nord Alexis, whom the *Current Literature Magazine* for June, 1908, calls the most brilliant leader Hayti has had since the death of Toussaint L'Ouverture. I think this rather overstates the truth. The fact that it took sixty years of struggling and striving and steady rising for Nord Alexis to gain the presidency, that fact that not until he was eighty years old and almost every one of his confederates in the uprising in the forties and sixties had passed away, did old Nord Alexis get his hands upon the throttle valves of power, proves that he was not an adroit politician or astute statesman, and that he was slow in impressing his real worth and intrinsic greatness upon his countrymen. But I would call him the typical figure in Hayti's history. For in his dreams, aspirations, hopes and strivings, he personifies and embodies the dreams and ideals of his race and people.

His rise was not like that of a mountain stream or rivulet swollen by recent rains, but it was as slow, as steady and as irresistible as that of the tidal wave of the sea, because it was impelled by the universal force of gravitation. It was as impossible to keep Nord Alexis down as it was to prevent the ocean from reaching to high-tide mark. He was not a cool, calculating statesman, not a scheming and adroit politician, not a suave and tactful diplomat, but, like Jackson, Zachariah Taylor, Tippecanoe Harrison, and U. S. Grant, he was nothing but a plain, blunt soldier who forced his way upward by sheer greatness of

his soul and strength of character. At seventeen, a dreamer of heroic dreams and a lover of liberty and republican ideals; at twenty, a revolutionist and a radical republican; at forty-eight, a general in the uprising against Salnave; at forty-nine, a member of the provisional government that resulted from the overthrow and execution of Salnave; at fifty-two, the commander of the Haytien army which demanded an explanation from the United States consul for the mounting of a howitzer on Haytien soil; at sixty-eight, the victorious commander-in-chief of Hyppolite's forces; at eighty, secretary of war; at eighty-one, president of the Republic of Hayti; at eighty-eight, the crusher of a formidable conspiracy—such was the slow, steady and irresistible rise of President Nord Alexis. Brave, resourceful in war, imperturbable on the field of battle, serene and self-possessed as a ruler, genial and gracious as a host, Nord Alexis is the living embodiment of the dreams and ideals, the hopes and aspirations, the deeds and achievements of his people. From the time when, at seventeen years of age, he became enamored of republican ideals up to his eighty-ninth year, when he nipped a conspiracy in the bud by taking the bull by the horns and bearding the lion in his den, old Nord Alexis has manifested the same imperturbable courage, the same iron will, the same bulldog tenacity of purpose, the same grim and dogged determination. Tall and erect and slender in person, with a black face, an eagle eye, Roman nose, and Bismarckian jaw, Nord Alexis is a man you will look at a second time when he passes you on the street. The *Current Literature Magazine* and Reverend Solomon Porter Hood, secretary to the legation in Hayti in Cleveland's first administration, claim that he has the Bismarckian jaw. Just as Bismarck welded the German States into a unity and realized his dream of a German Empire, with Prussia as the center, by his policy of blood and iron, so Nord Alexis, by his voice and sword, has realized his republican ideals and made Hayti a republic and himself the dominant factor in that republic. I have hopes for Hayti because she has dreamt heroic dreams and loved liberty and produced a few masterful personalities. And I believe that in the twentieth century she will acquire that self-control and self-mastery, that regard for the rights of others, and that reverence for the will of the majority, which has been the goal and crowning achievements of the Anglo-Saxon race.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### *Final Word Regarding Hayti.*

Since the above chapter was written, in the fall of 1908, events in Hayti have succeeded each other with lightning-like rapidity. Within three years two presidents were deposed and a third killed by the explosion of a gunpowder magazine in the National Palace. Four hundred people were killed or injured by the explosion, the palace was wrecked, and the capital thrown into a state of panic.

Nemesis, the Goddess of Retributive Justice, played a part in the downfall of the great Nord Alexis. It was a strange irony of fate that Nord Alexis, who had been the hero of half a dozen revolutions, should himself be dethroned by a revolution. Was it an illustration of poetic justice that Nord Alexis, who had led revolt after revolt against despotic rule, and who for over half a century had breathed his own love of liberty into the hearts and minds of his countrymen, should himself be destroyed politically by the same spirit of liberty and discontent and rebellion against authority which he, more than any other Haytien, had called into existence?

The *Literary Digest* for August 24, 1912, admirably sums up Hayti's history during the past three years. It says:

This bit of recent history in which Leconte figured conspicuously is well worth reading. Leconte was minister of the interior under President Nord Alexis, whose bloody reign of tyranny came to an end in exile. But for protection he begged from a foreign warship, Nord Alexis would have been torn to fragments in revenge for his savage and summary executions of citizens on the mere suspicion of disloyalty. President Leconte was the man who often carried out the orders of Nord Alexis. Upon the downfall of that petty tyrant, he was compelled to seek safety in exile. President Simon, who obtained his title to the presidency by the overthrow of Nord Alexis, was subsequently challenged by Leconte, who from his refuge in Jamaica, plotted revolutions. His first attempt failed, and a German consulate saved him from death. He promptly went about another revolution, and next time he succeeded in overthrowing Simon. Following the long-established precedent, he declared himself president *pro tem.* and ordered an election. The people

who took the trouble to vote at all, voted unanimously for President Leconte, for any other choice would have been an invitation to face the firing squad.

The National Palace, in which President Cincinnatus Leconte resided, was blown up by a series of explosions about three o'clock in the morning, and within an hour was burned to the ground. Whether the explosion was accidental or the work of an anarchist has not been definitely learned, but it was probably accidental, as a powder magazine and large stock of arms were in the National Palace. The Associated Press dispatch from Port au Prince reads:

So great was the force of the explosion that a number of small cannon, fragments of iron and shell were thrown long distances in all directions, and many of the palace attendants were killed. Every house in the city was shaken violently and the entire population, greatly alarmed, rushed into the street.

The Chamber and Senate at a joint session on the afternoon of August 8, 1912, immediately named General Tancrede Auguste, a senator and ex-minister of public works, as General Leconte's successor. General Auguste died May 2, 1913, and the Haytien Congress elected Senator Michel Oreste, president of the republic.

General Leconte was a mulatto, and a lawyer by profession. Although only forty-three years old he had already won a reputation as probably the best-equipped man who had been at the head of affairs in Hayti since Toussaint L'Ouverture was decoyed on board a ship by the famous Napoleon and carried to France in fetters, where he died a miserable death in prison. General Leconte first attracted attention in Hayti in 1908. He was minister of interior in the cabinet of President Nord Alexis, and ordered ten prominent revolutionists of Port au Prince to be taken from their beds at daybreak, carried to a cemetery and shot. It was this drastic crushing of a budding rebellion which caused Nord Alexis to be deposed within a few months, and sent Leconte into exile in Jamaica.

The press paid quite a tribute to the character, ability and attainment of General Leconte. *Collier's Weekly*, August 31, 1912, says of the death of Leconte:

In the death of Cincinnatus Leconte the still experimental negro republic loses the most effective constructive force in its recent history.

He represented a type of Haytien quite distinct from his predecessor, Antoine Simon, the illiterate Negro who now languishes in an exile made very comfortable by the proceeds of his former office in Jamaica. Leconte was a man of liberal European education, abreast of the times, a great reader in several languages. It is generally admitted that in his brief year in office his was the ablest and the cleanest government Hayti has had in forty years. He seems to have realized clearly that the reason his island territory, naturally the most productive in the West Indies, remains to-day by far the most undeveloped lies in the instability of former administrations and their prejudice against the introduction of foreign capital and freer commercial intercourse with other nations. The explosion which leveled the Haytian president's palace took from his country's affairs a guiding intelligence which it will be difficult to replace.

The article in the *Literary Digest*, from which I have quoted, in its strictures upon Hayti, does not, like most detractors of the Black Republic, see in the constant strife there an indication of the inferiority of the Negro race. It says:

It is not a matter of race that makes Hayti a political pustule on the face of the earth. It is the lack of education. The term education is here employed in its larger and best sense, for the primary and most important purpose of education is not to make scholars, but to make exemplary citizens, who will be educated to proper standards of morality and of patriotism. When the average citizen grows up with the idea that government is merely grafting privilege whereby the officials in power are licensed to levy tax and tribute, public and private, without authorization of any law but the law of greed, government necessarily becomes a travesty and the subjects of government merely slaves.

But in the light of the courage and patriotism of the native Haytiens, shown in their rising again and again against despotic rule and authority, it is strange to hear the writer of the article say, "The voters of Hayti, like those in our own country who bow to the machine, always 'vote right.' In consequence of this cowardice in the face of military despotism their government is as corrupt and oppressive as the presidents know how to make it."

Of all the indictments brought against Hayti, cowardice and lack of patriotism cannot be charged against them, for the Haytiens are preëminently a brave, liberty-loving people, full of spirit and enthusiasm. Their impetuosity and lack of experience in government has caused the constant upheaval. But it is not fair to expect the Haytiens, with only a century's experience in self-

government, to maintain as firm and stable a government as the English-speaking race, with centuries of experience in self-government.

I believe that calm reflection will lead us to accept the view of the late Hermann Lotze, a German philosopher, who possessed the comprehensive grasp of mind of an Aristotle. Lotze, on page 236 of Volume II of his "Microcosmus," says:

The incapacity of the Negro state of Hayti to attain a condition of permanent order has certainly too many obvious causes in its hasty formation amid a population vitiated by slavery, to prove conclusively that all similar attempts of colored men must be equally resultless, supposing they were made under more favorable circumstances, such as have hitherto been lacking.

On October 7, 1908, J. M. F. Schiess wrote a letter to the *New York Sun* in which he demonstrated that Hayti was not as black as she was painted. The letter is as follows:

*To the Editor of the Sun:*—

SIR:—I am prompted to send this letter to the *Sun* because I have noted that it is probably the only paper in New York which gives a "square deal" to Hayti.

The sensational stories published right along in some newspapers regarding the little republic would appear to Americans who know the facts about Hayti simply ridiculous, if such stories did not have the regrettable effect of injuring American interests in that country.

During the last four years American influence has almost superseded French and German influence there. All important contracts were given to Americans. The Haytian Government showed a distinct preference for all things American, and did all in its power to promote closer relations with the United States. As a return for these friendly advances, what does our press do but publish continually unreliable news and mendacious stories, all tending to show Hayti to the American public in the worst possible light; so that the American investor and traveler, having thus been educated to regard Hayti as a hotbed of turmoil and even of barbarism, holds up his hands deprecatingly every time Hayti is mentioned as a possible place for investment and gives it a wide berth.

These newspaper articles have no less disastrous an effect on the Haytiens, for they tend to alienate these good people from us and to throw them back into the arms of the French and Germans, who are but too willing to embrace them again and get back all their business. New commercial treaties have been signed with both France and Germany. Negotiations are now on foot for the adjustment of pending

difficulties between the Haytien Government and the French bank for the return to the bank of the government treasury service taken away from it some years ago for breach of contract. On the other hand, it is significant to note that following immediately on recent press publications the consideration of all contracts and concessions proposed to the last Legislature on behalf of Americans has been postponed until next year.

At the time news of revolution and famine in Hayti was being published in an important New York newspaper, during the months of July and August last, about a dozen Americans, including myself, were traveling in Hayti. We can all affirm that none of us saw or heard of a single case of starvation; and journeying night and day through the interior we saw no signs of unrest, much less of shooting and fighting. Everything appeared to us calm and peaceful. We were received everywhere with the Haytien's usual hospitality, and felt a great deal safer in one of their mountain villages than we would feel in many a place in New York.

The talk about voodooism and sacrificing of children is another sensationalism. It can be safely said, that none of the writers of those weirdly illustrated stories can swear to having witnessed a human sacrifice. Voodooism exists in Hayti as it does in our own State of Louisiana—no worse. The religion of Hayti is Catholicism, and the Government has a concordat with the Pope, whereby it defrays the expense of the clergy in Hayti, which is composed of an Archbishop, three Bishops and about 150 priests. All the clergy come from France, and so do the nuns directing the convent schools. In Port-au-Prince, the capital, a French architect is building a cathedral which when completed will be probably the most beautiful church in the West Indies. The Haytien Government granted \$400,000 American gold for building the cathedral. Churches and chapels, with schools attached to them for boys and girls, are to be found all over the country, even in the remotest mountain villages. More than \$1,000,000 Haytien currency is spent by the Government a year for education. The Haytien student can graduate from the College of Port-au-Prince. He can become a doctor or a lawyer at the schools of medicine or of law, and there is many a professional Haytien turned out from these schools who can compare to his advantage with distinguished Frenchmen of the same profession.

As regards its financial condition, Hayti can stand comparison with the majority of Central and South American States. Its 6 per cent. gold bonds of the par value of 500 francs, first issued at 400, are now quoted on the Paris Bourse at 540. Whatever may be said to the contrary, Hayti has always paid its obligations, and no foreigner in Hayti can honestly say that he has lost money in his dealings with the Government. Hayti has been a "good thing" for them all the time, and whenever they speak ill of the country it is to keep other allers away from it, so as to have the cake all to themselves.

It is well known that this has been the systematic policy of the French bank referred to—whenever it was approached for information regarding Hayti it would invariably give out unfavorable reports. Meanwhile it was piling up for its stockholders a surplus of 10,000,000 francs, a sum equal to its capitalization, whereof only one-half has been paid in. The shares of this same bank of the par value of 500 francs with only 250 francs paid in on them, cannot now be bought on the Paris Bourse even at an advance on their par value! This does not speak so very badly for Hayti as a place for investment.

There are just a few more things that might be said about Hayti to show that it is not as black as it has been painted.

J. M. F. SCHEISS.

New York, October 7.

#### SUMMARY OF HAYTI'S HISTORY.

In 1791 an insurrection of blacks and mulattoes broke out in Hayti and Toussaint L'Ouverture became the commander-in-chief of the Haytien forces. In 1793 the commissioners of the French government recognized the freedom of the Haytiens. In 1795 Spain ceded the eastern part of the island to France. Then the British invaded the island. Toussaint whipped and drove out the British in 1798. In 1801 Napoleon sent General Leclerc to reconquer the island and recover the part that Spain ceded to France. Toussaint defeated him and angered Napoleon by addressing him in writing thus, "From the black to the white Napoleon."

Toussaint was decoyed on board a French ship by false promises and treacherously captured and committed by the black-hearted Napoleon to a dark, damp, dirty, dingy dungeon, where he died of improper treatment, in 1803. No act of that blood-thirsty monster, Napoleon, of that cruel military genius, is more despicable than his treatment of poor Toussaint.

But the Haytiens did not despair. John Jacques Dessalines, the black Attila, rallied the brave Haytiens and drove out the French in 1803. In 1804, Dessalines declared Hayti independent and assumed the title of emperor. He was a brave, resourceful and vindictive soldier and a tyrannical despot. As a soldier he ranks with Toussaint and Maceo. He was assassinated in 1806. In 1811 Christophe, a Negro, set up a government of the blacks in the northern part of the island, while Petion was the founder of a mulatto republic in the south.

In 1820, Boyer, the greatest Haytien since Toussaint, arose. He was the successor of Petion, and hence the head of the southern mulatto republic, but he reached out and secured control of the northern part and conquered the eastern part of the island. In the year 1825, while he was still president, France recognized the independence of the island. For twenty-three years he was an ideal governor of the island, until he was deposed in 1843. In 1844 the eastern part of the island set up an independent republic. San Domingo and the western part of the island of Hayti became the scene of the struggle for mastery of the blacks and the mulattoes. In 1849 Solouque, an ambitious Haytien, took the title of Emperor Faustin, became an absolute monarch and dictator, a veritable Czar. He tried to reannex San Domingo. But Geffrard, a mulatto, in 1859, brought back the republican form of government to Hayti, and ruled wisely and well until 1867. In 1889 Legitime and Hyppolite plunged the island into a civil war, and strove desperately for the mastery. Hyppolite conquered and remained in the saddle until his death in 1896. Then General Simon Sam became president and was deposed in May, 1902. Then Boisrond Canal, head of the provisional government, and M. Firmin, Haytien ambassador at Paris, clashed and strove for the mastery. Firmin was defeated and General Nord Alexis was proclaimed president by the army.

The International Encyclopædia says that in 1900, 72,000,000 pounds of coffee were exported from Hayti. The commerce of Hayti fluctuates between \$15,000,000 and \$19,000,000, of which the exports amount to from \$10,000,000 to \$12,000,000. And then the Encyclopædia says, "While the agricultural possibilities of Hayti are large, the backward condition of agriculture clearly shows that they are not fully utilized. This is due to lack of capital, high export duties, the roadless condition of the country—frequent revolutions and the unprogressive character of the people."

It is the *fad now-a-days* to point to the civil wars and dissensions in Hayti as evidence of the Negro's incapacity for self-government. But in the history of Hayti I only see a repetition on a smaller scale of the history of Rome during the last one hundred years of the republic, and the first two hundred years of the empire, or a counterpart of the history of the South Ameri-

can republics. When we remember that there is a large infusion of the passionate Spanish and French blood in the Haytien mulattoes; that before Hayti achieved her independence, the free mulattoes and slave blacks were opposed to each other, I see nothing unusual in the history of Hayti. Then, as to the "unprogressive character" of the Haytiens, their history compares favorably with that of the Russian Jewish serfs, who were emancipated about fifty years ago. To expect the Haytiens in one century to step from barbarism to civilization, to leap in one hundred years the distance that it has taken the Anglo-Saxon race over one thousand years to cover and pass over, is the height of absurdity.

In Edisto and Wadmalaw, islands off the coast of Charleston, S. C.; in St. Helena Island, near Beaufort in Hilton Head; Dafuski and Skidaway Islands, near Savannah, Georgia; in the Bahama Islands of Miami, one will hear Negroes talking in a dialect that is barely understood, and they are almost as crude and primitive in their notions as native Africans. Many of them believe in voodooism, conjuring and goopherism; while in the city of Nassau, in Bahama Islands, one will find a very highly cultivated set of colored people. Many of the Haytien mulattoes and blacks have put the finishing touches upon their education in France.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

### *The Progress of the Colored People in America, Based on the Census of 1900 and Preceding Censuses.*

Fifty years ago to-day, while the Northern Negro owned at least \$20,000,000 worth of property, the free Southern Negroes of Charleston, New Orleans, Fayetteville, Wilmington, Newbern, N. C., and other places over \$25,000,000, the masses in the South hardly owned the brogans upon their feet. But in 1900, Negroes in twelve Southern States owned about 173,375 farms, paid taxes upon nearly \$700,000,000 worth of property, and supported 28,000 churches. The Negroes in Georgia alone owned \$30,000,000 worth of taxable property. In 1900, Negroes in the South owned and controlled over fifty banks, thirty-three of them well capitalized and organized, and nearly one hundred insurance companies. There were over one hundred colored drug stores in the United States. In 1900, colored men throughout the country edited about five hundred newspapers and nine magazines. The Penny Savings Bank in Birmingham, Alabama, and the True Reformer's Society of Richmond, Va., are conspicuous examples of colored men coöperating in business. In 1890, the Negro occupied and operated 594,642 farms, of which 22 per cent. were owned by him, and occupied 861,137 houses. In 1900, the Negro owned 23,770 church edifices and church property valued at \$26,626,000; and in 1909, 35,000 church edifices worth \$56,000,000, with nearly 4,000,000 members. To-day (1913) the aggregate wealth of ten million American Negroes approximates close to a billion dollars and probably exceeds it.

Samuel E. Moffat, writing to the *Saturday Evening Post*, made this interesting statement:

The Study of the Negro population of the United States, recently published by the Census Bureau (1900), discloses some facts that show very clearly that the colored race is steadily developing a complete social and industrial system of its own. A large city could be formed without a single white man in it, and yet lack for no trade or profession.

There are 21,268 Negro teachers and college professors in the United States, and 15,530 clergymen. The Negroes could finance a railroad through their eighty-two bankers and brokers, lay it out with their 120 civil engineers and surveyors, condemn the right-of-way, with their 728 lawyers, make the rails with their 12,327 iron and steel workers, build the road with their 345,980 laborers, construct its telegraph system with their 185 electricians and their 529 linemen, and operate the road with their 55,327 railway employees.

Colored people complain that they have to sit in the gallery in the white theaters, but their 2,043 actors and showmen might give them theaters of their own, in which they could occupy the boxes in solitary grandeur. They have fifty-two architects, designers and draftsmen, 236 artists and teachers of art, 1,734 physicians and surgeons, 212 dentists, 210 journalists, 3,921 musicians and teachers of music, and ninety-nine literary and scientific persons. The colored baby can be introduced to the world by the Negro physicians and nurses, instructed in every accomplishment by Negro teachers, supplied with every requisite of life by Negro merchants, housed by Negro builders, and buried by a Negro undertaker. There are Negro bookkeepers and accountants, clerks and copyists, commercial travelers, merchants, salesmen, stenographers and telegraph operators. Negroes are in every manual trade—carpenters, masons, painters, paperhangers, plasterers, plumbers, steamfitters, chemical workers, marblecutters, glass workers, fishermen, bakers, butchers, confectioners, millers, shoemakers, tanners, watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, book-binders, engravers, printers, tailors, engineers, photographers, glovemakers, everything that statisticians think it worth while to count. And the curious thing is that in whatever line a Negro man is at work there is also a Negro woman. The only occupations which the colored women have allowed their men-folk to monopolize are those of the architect, the banker and broker, the telegraph and telephone linemen, the boilermaker, the trunkmaker, and the pattern maker. You can hire a Negro woman civil engineer or a Negro woman electrician. There are 164 Negro women officiating as pastors, 262 black actresses, and ten Afro-American female lawyers. One Negro woman works as a roofer, another as a plumber, and forty-five of them are blacksmiths, iron and steel workers and machinists. There are 860 wholesale and retail merchants. Others are journalists, literary persons, artists, musicians, government officials and practitioners of an infinite variety of skilled and unskilled trades.

#### WEALTH OF NEGROES BY STATES.

(From the *Washington Record*, December 21, 1906.)

The subjoined statistics, taken from the Census reports of 1900 exhibit a most interesting and healthy condition of the Negroes of the United States. The table does not include school and church property which is valued at approximately \$100,000,000.

STATES	HOMES OWNED	WEALTH
Alabama .....	23,536	\$71,346,000
Arizona .....	85	1,123,600
Arkansas .....	16,838	30,721,200
California .....	861	21,064,400
Colorado .....	462	820,800
Connecticut .....	599	1,321,200
Delaware .....	1,297	2,405,600
District of Columbia .....	3,964	35,507,600
Florida .....	14,121	30,286,000
Georgia .....	26,636	80,501,600
Idaho .....	36	32,400
Illinois .....	4,479	17,696,000
Indiana .....	3,515	15,102,400
Indian Territory .....	3,509	12,942,000
Iowa .....	900	1,166,000
Kansas .....	5,489	14,791,600
Kentucky .....	14,906	34,124,400
Louisiana .....	20,463	56,105,600
Maine .....	121	116,800
Maryland .....	14,976	48,124,000
Massachusetts .....	1,094	2,752,000
Mississippi .....	28,855	77,122,000
Minnesota .....	140	1,633,600
Missouri .....	9,535	23,911,600
Michigan .....	1,573	1,482,400
Montana .....	75	157,200
Nebraska .....	250	505,200
Nevada .....	18	20,800
New Hampshire .....	83	49,600
New Jersey .....	2,588	15,573,600
New Mexico .....	69	142,400
New York .....	2,213	48,392,800
North Carolina .....	29,011	48,883,200
North Dakota .....	26	48,800
Ohio .....	6,927	10,896,800
Oklahoma .....	2,530	1,668,400
Oregon .....	49	76,400
Pennsylvania .....	3,978	42,419,000
Rhode Island .....	319	848,000
South Carolina .....	26,870	44,208,400
South Dakota .....	46	42,800
Tennessee .....	21,023	38,570,800
Texas .....	33,292	47,767,200
Utah .....	19	47,600
Vermont .....	49	61,600

STATES	HOMES OWNED	WEALTH
Virginia .....	46,268	\$51,412,000
Washington .....	161	226,400
West Virginia .....	1,983	3,299,200
Wisconsin .....	167	246,400
Wyoming .....	32	64,000
Total .....	376,036	\$937,830,000

VALUE OF CHURCH AND SCHOOL PROPERTY OF FIVE OF THE  
LEADING CHURCHES.

NAME OF CHURCHES	NO.	VALUE	VALUE OF SCHOOLS
Baptist .....	15,484	\$12,196,130	\$564,200
A. M. E. ....	5,816	11,044,662	535,000
A. M. E. Zion .....	3,050	4,865,572	355,000
C. M. E. ....	1,510	2,525,600	
Presbyterian .....	558	350,004	500,000
Total .....	26,418	\$30,981,968	\$1,954,200

There were three Southern states, where the Negro's wealth exceeded \$70,000,000, and one Southern state, where the Negro's wealth was estimated at over \$80,000,000.

Some claim that these figures were exaggerated; but I believe that they are approximately correct, for often property is assessed at less than its real valuation.

The New York *Independent*, that staunch defender of the Negro, had this splendid editorial in 1906:

An intelligent correspondent, principal of schools in a Louisiana town, and one who declares himself "a subscriber and great admirer" of the *Independent*, wants to know the sources of our information on the race problem as pertains to the South; that is, whether it comes from an intelligent and unprejudiced source. He also asks us to review the Hon. Charles Francis Adams' article in the May *Century* on the Negro in Africa.

Our sources of information are those open to everybody. They are deductive, based on principles, and inductive, based on observed facts.

The main principle involved is that men are born free, and with the equal and inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This does not mean that men are born with the same color or brain, or that superior talent does not achieve superior results, but it means that no mere factitious difference is to exclude a man from the unhindered fruits of his own exertions. Law must not put disabilities on men to prevent their equal access to privilege. This is a principle of Christianity

as well as of humanity and common ethics. The principle forbids slavery, serfdom, Jim Crow laws and the hindrance of the ballot. It further requires us to deal with men as men and never as races.

Next as to observed facts.

We have observed that historically every advanced race has risen out of a condition as degraded as that of the Africans observed by Mr. Adams in the Sudan. There was a time when our ancestors in Britain and Germany and Russia were no more advanced than those Negroes. Cæsar says that in Gaul the common people were "little better than slaves" to the chiefs and the druids. It is he that tells of human sacrifices, men burnt in wicker cages. The Germans, he says, were clothed in skins, lived by hunting and not agriculture, had no fixed home, and had no public magistrates. They lived much like our nomadic Indians, and were less advanced than the Negroes of Timbuctu or Zululand. Cæsar describes the Britons as barbarians, painted with woad, to make them look terrible in war, and living in companies with their wives in common. Tacitus says of the Sarmatians that they were in so hopelessly miserable a condition that they did not even need to pray. But out of such savagery, with no increase of brain power, simply by social heredity, by the access of imported civilization, by culture and education, has grown in these races the most splendid enlightenment the world knows. In those days such civilization was as hopeless as among the blacks of Nubia.

We have also observed that with their present superiority the Caucasians have been inclined to express a contempt for all other races. We have despised Hindus, Chinese and Japanese. But within fifty years we have seen the little yellow Japanese, whom even the Chinese called "monkeys," develop a complete civilization, equaling that of Europe, and conquer on land and sea the proud Russians.

We see no antecedent reason why, with similar civilization brought within their reach, Africans should not do as much. The best ethnologists tell us that they are not notably inferior in bodily size or in brain capacity. Even if they were somewhat inferior, a very large element of Caucasian blood is infused in this country. Many falsely classed as "Negroes" are mainly Caucasian. In Africa, shut off from the world's civilization, they have created large states and cities, and a native industry which includes the smelting of iron, as Professor Boaz has told us. It is a condition, whether pagan or Mohammedan, that is far above savagery.

Further, we have observed the progress made by the Negroes in this country since the abolition of slavery. To draw a conclusion Mr. Adams visits Omdurman for a few days—a town just rescued from the Mahdi, where teaching by missionaries has been forbidden till this last year. We have carefully observed the results of forty years progress in our Southern States.

Slavery was abolished by an act of war, against the will of the white residents. Immediately the white people attempted to organize State

Governments and enacted laws of peonage to take the place of slavery. Those laws Congress annulled, and there has followed a period of jealous hostility, partisan and social. With great frankness, since in the Hayes administration we were compelled to give up the attempt at national protection, it has been the avowed effort of the Southern ruling class to suppress both social and political equality. The conditions have been very difficult for the Negro. The whites have declared that the Negro cannot rise, that he is inherently incapable of civilization. But he has risen rapidly, more rapidly than could have been expected. Dr. Nott, of Nott and Glidden fame, the chief scientific authority in the South before and after the war, piteously declared that the Negro, freed from the protection of his master, would utterly perish from the land, and that, in his incapacity to earn a living, the country would meanwhile have to feed the race as paupers. That was believed. Now the census tells us that the Negroes, without immigration, have by natural increase grown since 1860 from 4,441,830 to 8,883,994 in 1900. They have doubled in forty years. That proves vitality and implies self-support. At the end of the war the Negro owned nothing but his hands. In 1900 there were 744,471 farms owned or operated by Negroes, being 41 per cent. of all Negro homes. They represent a value of five hundred million dollars. There were 187,797 Negro owners of the farms they operated. Similarly in other lines of profitable work the Negroes have made progress which we have no space to illustrate.

Nor have they failed in intellectual progress. With not over one dollar given by the Southern States for the education of a Negro child to three for a white child, and thus with inferior schools, they have already learned, by a large majority, to read and write. There is yet an immense mass of black ignorance, chiefly in the sections where there is a large, though smaller, mass of white ignorance. But the improvement is immense, thanks largely to outside support of higher schools supplementing the lack of State support. Thousands of Negroes have graduated from colleges, have entered the learned professions, and not a few, in Northern universities, have shown equal proficiency with the abler white students, as proved by prizes in competition.

Now it is absolutely sure that the movement of the American Negro is upward and not downward. The progress is remarkable and against serious discouragement. As yet there is no sign that it will stop. There is no slightest evidence that there is a lower level above which the Negro cannot rise, for many have risen. This we have seen with our own eyes, in our own short lifetime. We have visited their cultured homes; we have examined their schools; we have had part in their education. We have taken no special concern with their ignorance, their vices, their laziness, their diseases, their large mortality; for these matters are not peculiar or significant. What is significant is the trend, the movement, and that is plainly upward. Accordingly we consider the top things not the bottom things; the schools, not the prisons. Jails

count nowhere; it is the forces that lift that must always be considered, for they control and will prevail.

What, then, do we think of Mr. Adams' article? It needs vision and revision. There is no such essential, invincible inferiority. It is true that most Negroes are commonplace people, satisfied where they are and having no initiative. So are most white people. We have to teach them divine discontent. Carlyle said they were "mostly fools." But in every race there are leaders, able to look forward, eager to climb upward; and for a race that has one per cent. of such, willing to lead, there is hope; for more than half the rest will be led, and the remainder are of no account for history.

We are asked if Northern people will accept Mr. Adams' testimony. Doubtless many will. There is a tendency that way now. But this we see clearly, that they cannot think so long. By all present signs, in fifty years, by his intelligence and thrift, the Negro will, in the agricultural States, possess his full proportion of wealth, culture and power; and we believe it will be welcomed by those who now oppose, and that it will be wisely used.

Professor Kelly Miller has so admirably epitomized the achievements of the Negro, in his reply to Dixon's "Leopard's Spots," that I will now quote him. Says Professor Miller:

Within forty years of partial opportunity, while playing, as it were, in the back yard of civilization, the American Negro has cut down his illiteracy by over fifty per cent., has produced a professional class, some fifty thousand strong, including ministers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, editors, authors, architects, engineers, and all higher lines of listed pursuits in which white men are engaged; some three thousand Negroes have taken collegiate degrees, over three hundred being from the best institutions in the North and West, established for the most favored white youth. There is scarcely a first-class institution in America, excepting some three or four in the South, that is without colored students who pursue their studies generally with success, and sometimes with distinction. Negro inventors have taken out four hundred patents as a contribution to the mechanical genius of America. There are scores of Negroes who, for conceded ability and achievements take respectable rank in the company of distinguished Americans.

Professor Kelly Miller also gives the best defense of Hayti that I have yet seen. He says in the same pamphlet:

The panegyric of Wendell Phillips, on Toussaint L'Ouverture, is more than an outburst of rhetorical fancy; it is a just measure of his achievements in terms of his humble environment and the limited instrumentalities at his command. Where else in the course of history

has a slave, with the aid of slaves, expelled a powerfully entrenched master class, and set up a government patterned after civilized models, and which, without external assistance or reinforcement from a parent civilization, has endured for a hundred years in face of a frowning world? When we consider the difficulties that confront a weak government, without military or naval means to cope with its more powerful rivals, and where commercial adventurers are ever and anon stirring up internal strife, thus provoking the intervention of stronger governments, the marvel is, that the republic of Hayti still endures, the only self-governing State of the Antilles. To expect as effective and proficient government to prevail in Hayti, as at Washington, would be expecting more of the black man in Hayti, than we find in the white men of South America. And yet, I suspect that the million of Negroes in Hayti, are as well governed as the corresponding number of blacks in Georgia, where only yesterday, eight men were taken from the custody of the law, and lynched without judge or jury.

In 1897, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois stated that Negroes in Philadelphia owned \$5,000,000 worth of property. R. R. Wright, Jr., says that home owners in Philadelphia have increased 71 per cent. since 1900. In 1907, Wright says that within twenty months seven Negro real estate companies had been organized in Philadelphia, and that one company provided homes for twenty-five Negroes in one year.

In 1902, in Chicago, Ill., Negroes were assessed on property to the amount of \$1,960,105. Three colored men owned property valued at more than \$50,000. R. R. Wright, Jr., says that Negroes at present own \$4,000,000 worth of real estate in Chicago.

In 1910, the Negroes of Baltimore, Md., owned \$10,000,000 worth of taxable property.

In 1910, the colored people of the District of Columbia paid taxes on \$40,000,000 worth of real estate.

#### FIFTY YEARS AMONG BLACK FOLKS (1859-1909).

(By Prof. W. E. Burghardt DuBois.)

In 1859 there were 4,500,000 persons of Negro descent in the United States and of these 4,000,000 were slaves. These slaves could be bought and sold, could move from place to place only by permission, were forbidden to learn to read and write, legally could neither hold property nor marry. Ninety-five per cent. of them were totally illiterate, and only one adult in six was a nominal Christian.



The proportion of slaves among Negroes fifty years ago was steadily increasing and the South was passing laws to enslave free Negroes. The half million free blacks were about equally divided between North and South.

Such was the situation in 1859. Fifty years later, in 1909, the 4,500,000 Negro Americans have increased 126 per cent. to 10,000,000. Legal slavery has been abolished, leaving vestiges in debt peonage and the convict lease system. The freeman and their sons have—

1. Earned a living as free laborers.
2. Shared in the responsibilities of government.
3. Developed a vast internal organization of their race.
4. Aspired to spiritual self-expression.

The Negro was freed and turned loose as a penniless, landless, naked, ignorant laborer. Ninety-nine per cent. of the race were field hands and servants of the lowest class. To-day 50 per cent. are farm laborers and servants; over half of these are working as efficient modern workmen under a wage contract.

Above these have risen 750,000 farmers, 70,000 teamsters, 55,000 railway hands, 36,000 miners, 33,000 saw mill employees, 28,000 porters, 21,000 teachers, 21,000 carpenters, 15,000 clergymen, 20,000 barbers, 20,000 nurses, 14,000 masons, 24,000 dressmakers and seamstresses, 10,000 engineers and firemen, 10,000 blacksmiths, 2,500 physicians, and, above all, 2,000,000 mistresses of independent homes, and 3,000,000 children in school.

Fifty years ago these people were not only practically penniless, but were themselves assessed as "real estate." In 1909 they owned nearly 500,000 homes, and among these about 250,000 farms, or more than one-fifth, they cultivate, with 15,000,000 acres of farm land, worth about \$200,000,000. As owners and renters of farms they control 40,000,000 acres, worth over \$500,000,000, with a gross income of \$250,000,000.

Negroes to-day conduct every seventh farm in the land and raise every sixteenth dollar's worth of crops. They have accumulated at least \$600,000,000 worth of property in a half-century, starting with almost nothing.

Of the American government, he holds 8,325 offices in the executive civil service of the nation, besides furnishing four regiments in the army and a large number of sailors. In the state and municipal civil service he holds at least 10,000 other offices, and he furnishes 70,000 of the 900,000 votes which rule the great states of the North and West.

In these same years the Negro has relearned the lost art of reorganization. Slavery was the absolute denial of initiative and responsibility. To-day Negroes have 35,000 church edifices worth \$56,000,000, and controlling nearly 4,000,000 members. They raise themselves \$7,500,000 a year for these churches.

There are 200 private schools and colleges managed and almost entirely supported by Negroes and other public and private Negro schools have received in forty years \$45,000,000 of Negro money in taxes and dona-

tions. Five millions a year is raised by Negro secret and beneficial societies, which hold at least \$6,000,000 in real estate. Negroes support wholly or in part over 60 old folks' homes and orphanages, 30 hospitals and 500 cemeteries. Their organized commercial life is extending rapidly and includes all branches of the smaller businesses and 40 banks.

Above and beyond this material growth has gone the spiritual uplift of a great human race. From contempt and amusement they have passed to the pity and perplexity of their neighbors, while within their own souls they have risen from apathy and timid complaint to open protest and more and more manly self-assertion. Where nine-tenths of them could not read or write in 1859, to-day two-thirds can; they have 200 papers and periodicals, and their voice and expression are compelling attention.

Already the poems of Dunbar and Braithwaite, the essays of Miller and Grimke, the music of Rosamond Johnson, and the painting of Tanner are the property of the nation and the world. Instead of being led and defended by others, as in the past, they are gaining their own leaders, their own voices, their own ideas. Self-realization is thus coming slowly, but surely, to another of the world's great races, and they are to-day girding themselves to fight in the van of progress, not simply for their own rights as men, but for the ideals of the greater world in which they live; the emancipation of women, universal peace, democratic government, the socialization of wealth and human brotherhood.

This, then, is the transformation of the Negro in America in fifty years—from slavery to freedom, from 4,000,000 to 10,000,000, from denial of citizenship to enfranchisement, from being owned chattels to ownership of \$600,000,000 in property, from unorganized irresponsibility to organized group life, from being spoken for to speaking, from contemptuous forgetfulness on the part of their neighbors to uneasy fear and dawning respect, and from inarticulate complaint to self-expression and dawning consciousness of manhood.

#### PROGRESS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE BASED ON THE CENSUS OF 1910.

(From the *Southern Workman*.)

During the past fifty years there has been a rapid increase in the wealth of the Negroes of the South. This increase has been especially marked in the past ten years, during which time the value of the domestic animals which they own increased from \$85,216,337 to \$177,273,785, or 107 per cent.; poultry from \$3,788,792 to \$5,113,756, or 35 per cent.; implements and machinery from \$18,586,225 to \$367,831,418, or 98 per cent.; land and building from \$69,636,420 to \$273,501,665, or 293 per cent. From 1900 to 1910 the total value of property owned by the colored farmers of the South increased from \$177,404,688 to \$492,898,218, or 177 per cent.

In 1863 the total wealth of the Negroes of this country was about \$20,000,000. Now the total wealth is over \$700,000,000. No other emancipated people have made so great a progress in so short a time. The Russian serfs were emancipated in 1861. Fifty years after it was found that 14,000,000 of them had accumulated about \$500,000,000 worth of property, or about \$36 per capita, an average of \$200 per family. Fifty years after their emancipation only about thirty per cent. of the Russian peasants were able to read and write. After fifty years of freedom the 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States have accumulated over \$700,000,000 worth of property, or about \$70 per capita, which is an average of \$350 per family. After fifty years of freedom 70 per cent. of them have some education in books.

Professor Monroe N. Work, in charge of research and records at Tuskegee Institute, estimated the total wealth of the Negroes in the United States at \$700,000,000.

In the January number of the *Southern Workman*, Professor Work tells of what the American Negro is doing for himself. Special emphasis is placed on the race's advancement along religious, educational and economic lines.

The religious progress of the race is shown in the accumulation of church property which amounts to \$57,000,000. The churches contribute yearly over \$100,000 for home missions.

The Negro Baptists carry on work in five foreign countries in which they have established 132 mission stations in charge of ninety-seven missionaries. The African Methodist Episcopal Church has mission work in eight foreign countries and has two bishops in Africa. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is doing aggressive work in Africa and the West Indies.

Thirty-five thousand Sunday schools are in operation, with an enrollment of one and three-fourths million pupils.

The educational advancement of the race is indicated in Professor Work's article by the statement that 1,700,000 Negro children are enrolled in the public schools and 100,000 in the normal schools and colleges. Thirty-one thousand Negro teachers are employed in the public schools and colleges, and 3,000 teachers are employed in the colleges and the normal and industrial schools.

There are in the South at present fifty colleges, thirteen institutions for the education of colored women, twenty-six theo-

logical schools and departments, three schools of law, five of medicine, two of dentistry, four of pharmacy, seventeen state agricultural and mechanical colleges, and over 400 normal and industrial schools.

The value of the property now owned by institutions for higher and secondary training of the freedmen is more than \$17,000,000. In 1912 over \$4,400,000 was expended for their higher and industrial training, and \$8,600,000 in their public schools, a total of \$13,000,000.

There are 40,000 following the professions, including teachers, preachers, laymen, doctors, dentists, editors, etc., and there are some 30,000 engaged in business of some sort.

Negroes now edit and publish 400 newspapers and periodicals. They own 100 insurance companies, 300 drug stores and 20,000 grocery and other stores. There are 300,000 or more working in trades and other occupations requiring skill—blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, masons, miners, engineers, iron and steel workers, factory operators, printers, lithographers, engravers, gold and silver workers, tool and cutlery makers, etc.

With 3,950 colored persons in the government postal service, there are 22,440 in the employ of the United States Government.

Some 1,000 or more patents have been granted to Negroes during the past year. They have invented a telephone register, a hydraulic scrubbing brush, a weight motor for running machinery, aeroplanes, an automatic car switch and an automatic feed attachment for adding machines.

They have established sixty-four banks capitalized at \$1,600,000, doing an annual business of some \$20,000,000. The Penny Savings Bank of Birmingham, Ala., at the close of business in August, 1912, had resources amounting to \$447,000.

Perhaps the most significant progress has been made in agriculture. Negro farm laborers and Negro farmers in the South cultivate approximately 100,000,000 acres of land, of which 42,500,000 acres are under their control. Negroes now own 20,000,000 acres of land, equivalent to 31,000 square miles.

In 1863 the total wealth of Negroes in this country was about \$20,000,000. Now their total wealth is \$700,000,000.

I am inclined to dissent from Professor Work's figures. The total wealth of the Negroes in this country in 1863 has been

estimated at over \$40,000,000, and their total wealth now is practically \$1,000,000,000.

CENSUS REPORTS ON FIVE SOUTHERN STATES VALUE.

(From the *Crisis*.)

COLORED FARMERS	FARM LAND OWNED AND RENTED	
	1900	1910
Louisiana .....	\$38,030,298	\$ 56,523,741
Alabama .....	46,918,353	97,370,748
Florida .....	6,471,733	15,410,628
Georgia .....	48,708,954	157,879,185
Mississippi .....	86,487,434	187,561,026

A leading real estate agent asserts that the colored people of Baltimore own \$10,000,000 worth of real estate.

The Hardrick Brothers, colored men of Springfield, Mo., have a large grocery store. Their business amounts to \$75,000 a year and nine-tenths of their customers are white. They have ten clerks, one book-keeper, one cashier and four delivery men and a large auto delivery truck. The employees are all colored and the firm has the custom of the wealthiest people of the city.

The *Star of Zion* says of the North Carolina State Tax Commissioners:

The commission having made no grand total, we have done so for the benefit of our readers, and find that the Negroes own 1,424,943 acres of land, not counting town lots, and pay taxes on a grand total of \$29,982,328 of real and personal property. It should be known also that the rate of assessment is about 40 per cent. This will indicate that Negroes own \$70,000,000 worth of real and personal property in North Carolina. . . . There are a little less than 1,000,000 Negroes in this State and the showing above mentioned is certainly a creditable one.

FIFTY YEARS OF NEGRO PROGRESS.

(From the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*.)

Now that the successor of Abraham Lincoln has organized his new party, his counsels purified of the contaminating influence of the descendants of the men whose emancipation Abraham Lincoln the first proclaimed, it is an appropriate time to glance in review at the condition of the Southern black man at the outbreak of the Civil War and his condition now, half a century later. Some highly interesting figures to help such a review have been marshaled by the promoters of a bill before Congress asking for a \$250,000 appropriation for a Negro exposition in celebration of the semi-centennial of the emancipation proclamation. The black man may have to keep a-coming for some

time to be entirely welcome in the select company of a Bull Moose convention but he seems to have done pretty well.

The Negro, it seems to be pretty well agreed, is indispensable in the South, at least at the present stage of its industrial development. At all events that he has found a livable country there is eloquently witnessed in the fact that his numbers have increased from 4,000,000 in 1860 to 10,000,000 in 1910. Meanwhile there is not lacking evidence that in some outward respects at least the quality has improved, if it be granted that accomplishment is evidence of quality. Before the war practically all the Negroes were slaves and illiterate; in 1890, the figures show illiteracy among the descendants 30.5 per cent. less than that of the white population of Spain, Russia, Roumania, Hungary, and not a few other European countries. By way of comparison nearer home the still more significant fact is pointed out that in Pennsylvania the illiteracy of the foreign population has increased in twenty years from 15 to 19 per cent., while that of the colored residents of the State has decreased during the same period from 29 to 15 per cent. This comparison had its disquieting phase, but it is not at the expense of the evidence regarding Negro progress potential and actual.

Fifty years ago there were practically no American Negroes in professional life; now there are more than 75,000. Fifty years ago the slave was practically penniless; now his descendants own more than 400,000 farms and homes, whose aggregate value is estimated at over a billion dollars. More than a quarter of a million Negroes own their own farms and more than a million farms are operated by Negroes. There have been more than 6,000 Negro authors of copyrighted books and more than a thousand patents have been granted Negro inventors. There are Negro graduates of all the great universities of the country. There are nearly 300 newspapers edited by Negroes, and the lists of bankers, brokers and manufacturers include many names of black men.

It is a little leaven, perhaps, to leaven such a lump, but the essential fact is that the leaven is working. Certainly the showing gives reason for the faith that is in such people as believe that an equality of political rights under the Constitution need not yet be abandoned as a cornerstone of the republic. Self-respect and hope, twin guiding stars, are surely not lightly to be clouded by an organization essaying to speak for the whole of a great country; certainly not in the name of Abraham Lincoln.

#### NEGRO IS RISING.

(From the *New York Evening Post*.)

A study of the recent census by Dr. T. J. Jones of the Bureau of Education brings out some interesting facts about the Negro in the South, which are of striking value in connection with Mr. Roosevelt's new anti-negro policy. It appears that 40 per cent. of all the agricultural workers in the South are Negroes, numbering approximately two and one-third million men. Of these 890,000 are farmers, 218,000

of whom own their own farms. They own and cultivate 15,702,579 acres, which they have acquired in less than fifty years. Negro farms have increased 20 per cent. in ten years, according to the census, while the Negro population has added to itself 10 per cent. White men's farms have increased but 18 per cent., while the white population grew 24 per cent.

Yet it is to these two and one-half millions of Negro farm workers that Mr. Roosevelt says in substance: You shall not be represented in my party, because the white people about you won't like it, and because in the past you have sent delegates to Republican conventions who have been too easily corrupted. This enormous body of agricultural workers is thus to be unrepresented in the party of "social justice," even though they have largely, by their own efforts, reduced their illiteracy to 33.3 per cent. in 1910 from 48 per cent. in 1900.

How helpful and stimulating this action will be to these toilers who contribute so largely to the wealth of the nation and are lifting themselves "up from slavery," against terrible odds, and the social injustice, the bitter prejudice and hatred to which Mr. Roosevelt now caters.

(From the Appeal of Colored Men to the Progressive Convention  
in Chicago, Ill., August, 1912.)

Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,000 people, who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, reestablished family life, accumulated \$1,000,000,000 of real property, including 20,000,000 acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 per cent. to 30 per cent. deserve and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government.

I will add that over 50,000 colored men are engaged in the professions and liberal arts and there are over 200,000 farms owned by colored men.

#### TEN MILLION NEGROES.

(From the *Penny Press* of Middletown, Conn., May 16, 1912.)

When the census figures of 1900 were published they revealed the fact that in the forty years since slavery the Negro population had doubled. It was 4,441,830 in 1860 and 8,833,994 in 1900.

Now that we are beginning to get returns from the 1910 census, writes Booker T. Washington, in the *Independent*, we learn that during the last ten years the race has added almost another million (994,300) to its stature.

According to the 13th census, the Negro population was 9,828,294, and if it has increased at the same rate since 1910 that it did before, namely, 11.30 per cent. for the decade or about 100,000 a year, it is now considerably more than 10,000,000.

The importance of these facts is that it assures the physical existence of the race. The Negro is not dying out. The rate of increase among Negroes is not as great as it was some years ago, but that is true of every civilized country in the world in which the population is not increased by immigration.

The census of 1911 shows, for example, that the rate of increase for the English people, measured by the excess of births over deaths, is 12.4 per cent. The natural rate of increase by immigration was estimated at 20 per cent. in the period of 1880 to 1890, and is not quite 15 per cent. for the period from 1900 to 1910.

The census shows that the white population is increasing more rapidly than the Negro, in the Southern States. This is due in part to the fact that while there is a movement in the black population northward from the border States like Kentucky, Tennessee and Maryland, there is at the same time a movement of the white population southward, particularly in the direction of Florida, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

The statistics show, for example, that while the Negro population has actually decreased in the border States mentioned, and the increase in Virginia and Delaware was no more than 16 per cent., the increase of the Negro population in the Northern States was 18.4 per cent.

This does not mean, as some persons have said, that the Negro population is shifting from the Southern to the Northern States. The fact is that the total increase of Negro population in the North, during the decade from 1900 to 1910 amounted to no more than 167,879. During the same period Negro population in the South has grown from 7,922,969 to 8,749,390, an increase of 826,421.

#### AFRO-AMERICAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The table headed "Afro-Americans in the United States" is based upon the preliminary results of the census of 1910, in comparison in general with the figures for 1900. The distribution of Negroes according to black and mulatto is given for 1910, in comparison with similar results derived from the returns of the censuses of 1890 and 1870. It will be seen that the mulatto population has increased from 12 per cent. in 1870 to 20.9 per cent. in 1910. There are 893,384 colored farmers, an increase of 146,620 or 19.6 per cent. since 1900. The total Afro-American population of the United States according to the census of 1910 is 9,827,763. There are 2,458,873 males twenty-one years or over. The increase in males of voting age has been 19.3 per cent. in the decade. The per cent. of illiterate has been reduced from 44.5 in 1900 to 30.4 in 1910.



FARMS OF COLORED FARMERS.

There has been an enormous increase in the value of the farms (land and buildings), owned by the 880,837 Afro-American farmers in the Southern states. In 1900 the value was \$380,280,968. According to the census of 1910 it had increased to \$900,132,334, or 136.7 per cent! (The total includes the farms of 9,219 Indians, 24 Chinese, and 61 Japanese in addition to the farms of 880,837 Afro-Americans.)

	1910	1900	Increase 1900 to 1910	Percent of Increase
Total number of farms ..	890,141	740,670	149,471	20.2
Farms of owners .....	218,467	186,676	31,791	17.0
Farms of managers .....	1,200	1,593	—393	—24.7
Farms of tenants .....	670,474	552,401	118,073	21.4
Total farm acreage .....	42,609,117	38,612,046	3,997,071	10.4
Farms of owners .....	15,691,536	13,358,684	2,332,852	17.5
Farms of managers .....	349,779	428,518	—78,739	—18.4
Farms of tenants .....	26,567,802	24,824,844	1,742,958	7.0
Total value of farms (land and buildings) .....	\$900,132,334	\$380,280,968	\$519,851,366	136.7
Farms of owners .....	272,992,238	106,619,328	166,372,910	156.0
Farms of managers .....	10,371,949	5,544,310	4,827,639	87.1
Farms of tenants .....	616,768,147	268,117,330	348,650,817	130.0

(A minus sign (—) denotes decrease.)

AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE LARGER CITIES.

There are eight of the larger cities in each of which there are more than 25,000 Afro-Americans and in three of them they constitute a considerable proportion of the total population. Of the cities named, Washington, with 94,446 Afro-Americans, has the largest proportion, 28.5 per cent.; New Orleans, with 89,262 Afro-Americans, the second largest, 26.3 per cent.; and Baltimore, with 84,749 Afro-Americans, the third largest proportion, 15.2 per cent. New York has 91,709 Afro-Americans, almost as many as in Washington and more than in New Orleans, but of its total population the Afro-Americans constitute only 1.9 per cent. Philadelphia has 84,459 Afro-Americans, or 5.5 per cent. of its total population; Chicago 44,103 Afro-Americans, or 2 per cent.; St. Louis 43,960 Afro-Americans, or 6.4 per cent.; and Pittsburgh 25,623 Afro-Americans, or 4.8 per cent. In Detroit there

are 5,741 Afro-Americans; Buffalo, 1,773; San Francisco, 1,642; Milwaukee, 980; Cincinnati, 19,639; Newark, 9,475; St. Louis, 43,960; Boston, 13,564; Cleveland, 8,448; Los Angeles, 7,599; Minneapolis, 2,928; Jersey City, 5,960.

(From *A Half Century of Freedom*, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, 1863-1913.)

The Negro was freed as a penniless, landless, naked, ignorant laborer. There were very few that owned property in the South; there were a larger number that owned property in the North; but 99 per cent. of the race in the South were field hands, servants of the lowest class. To-day 50 per cent. are farm laborers and servants and over one-half of these are working as efficient modern workmen under wage contract. Above these, to use the figures of 1900, there are 750,000 farmers, 70,000 teamsters, 55,000 railway hands, 36,000 miners, 33,000 sawmill employees, 28,000 porters, 21,000 teachers, 21,000 carpenters, 20,000 barbers, 20,000 nurses, 15,000 clergymen, 14,000 masons, 13,000 dressmakers and seamstresses, 10,000 engineers and firemen, 2,500 physicians and, above all, 200,000 mistresses of independent homes, and 2,000,000 children in school.

Fifty years ago the overwhelming mass of these people were not only penniless, but were themselves assessed as real estate. By 1875 the Negroes probably had gotten hold of something between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 acres of land through their bounties as soldiers and the low price of land on account of the war. By 1880 this was increased to about 6,000,000 acres; in 1890 to about 8,000,000 acres, and over 12,000,000 acres in 1900. In 1910 this had increased to over 18,000,000 acres.

In 1890 Negroes owned 120,738 farms; in 1900 they owned 187,799; in 1910 they owned about 220,000. Thus, over 25 per cent. of the Negro farmers owned their own farms, and the increase of farm owners between 1890 and 1910 has been over 83 per cent. The value of land and buildings owned by Negroes in the South was in 1910 \$272,992,238. This is an increase of nearly 90 per cent. in a single decade. This does not include land owned by Negro farmers but rented out. If we include that, and if the increase in the whole United States has been as great as in the South, which seems fair to suppose, then the total farm property of Negroes in 1910 is \$437,000,000 as compared with \$230,000,000 in 1900. On a basis of the value of farm property in 1900, a committee of the American Economic Association estimated the value of Negro wealth in the United States at \$300,000,000. On the same basis we can estimate the total Negro wealth to-day at \$570,000,000.

To-day the Negro is a recognized part of the American government; he holds 9,000 offices in the executive service of the nation, besides furnishing four regiments in the army and a large number of sailors. In the State and municipal civil service he holds at least 10,000 other offices, and he furnishes 500,000 of the votes which rule the Union.

In these same years the Negro has relearned the lost art of organization. Slavery was the absolute denial of initiative and responsibility. To-day Negroes have 35,000 church edifices worth \$56,000,000, and controlling nearly 4,000,000 members. They raise themselves \$7,500,000 a year for these churches.

There are 200 private schools and colleges managed and almost entirely supported by Negroes, and other public and private Negro schools have received in forty years \$45,000,000 of Negro money in taxes and donations. Five millions a year are raised by Negro secret and beneficial societies, which hold at least \$6,000,000 in real estate. Negroes support wholly or in part over 60 old folks' homes and orphanages, 30 hospitals and 500 cemeteries. Their organized commercial life is extending rapidly, and includes all branches of the smaller retail businesses and 40 banks.

The \$570,000,000 mentioned by Dr. DuBois does not include bank deposits and investment in stocks and hence does not mean the total wealth of the American Negro, which is upwards of a billion dollars; it only refers to the property he owns.

#### THE FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO.

(By Charles Stelzle.)

The Negro problem is shifting from the South to the North. At any rate, the census figures indicate that the South is becoming whiter, largely due to the fact that there is a steady migration of the Negro to the North. Also, the figures show that the Negro is going to the city in both the North and the South. The percentage of Negroes for the entire country is 10.7; for the cities of 25,000 and over it is 16.5. Negroes constitute one-fourth or more of the total population in each of twenty-seven of these cities, and in four of them the proportion is more than half. In each of twelve cities there are more than 40,000 Negroes, although in Washington, D. C., the Negro population is 94,446.

The wildest guesses imaginable have been made as to the future of the Negro race. It has been said with equal insistence, and with probably equal authority, both that the Negro would ultimately dominate the United States because of the large birth-rate among Negroes, and that the Negro race would some day be practically eliminated.

As a matter of fact, while during the past sixty years the total population of the country has increased four-fold, the Negro population has increased only two and two-thirds fold. But it must not be forgotten that, whereas the increase of the white population was largely due to a considerable influx of foreigners, the increase of Negroes depended almost entirely upon native stock. However, the actual situation may be arrived at by comparing the relative death and birth rates of the two races.

While it is impossible to secure complete vital statistics in this country, there are certain registration areas in which figures are kept. Unfortunately these areas are for the most part in the cities; there are almost no records for the country. In 1890 the death rate for Negroes in the registration areas was 29.9 per thousand, whereas for whites it was only 19.1 per thousand. As these figures for the Negroes included a few Mongolians and Indians it would be fair to say that the actual death rate was about 29 per thousand for the Negro. This means that for every thousand Negroes, 29 die annually. In the census report for 1900 the figures for death rates are as follows: Negroes, 30.2 per thousand; whites, 17.3 per thousand. It will be seen that not only is the death rate among Negroes nearly twice as great as it is among whites, but that the death rate among Negroes is increasing, whereas it is decreasing among whites.

In the matter of birth rates, all the facts are against the Negro. Absolutely reliable data is not available, but taking the number of children in the United States to females between the ages of 15 to 44 years of age, we arrive at the following conclusions: In the United States as a whole there were in 1880 to every 1,000 white women 586 children; to every 1,000 Negro women (including Indians and Mongolians) 759 children. In 1900 there were to every 1,000 white women 508 children, and to every 1,000 Negro women 585 children. While the birth rate has greatly declined for both races in 20 years, it has declined more rapidly among the Negroes than among whites; namely, 78 per thousand for whites, and 174 per thousand for Negroes.

These figures would seem to indicate the continued supremacy of the white race—if present tendencies continue. But this fact continues to stare us in the face; the Negro is actually increasing in numbers, not as fast relatively as is the white, but we may as well make up our minds that the Negro is here to stay. It is simply a question as to whether he will be a "good" Negro or a "bad" Negro. And the answer to this question depends as much upon the whites as it does upon the blacks. We should also consider it a finality that the white race and the Negro race will rise or fall together. It is impossible to have a nation part free and part slave; it is still more impossible to have at the same time in one country, a morally and physically decaying race, and a surviving race untouched by the dying race's fate.

If we could definitely settle this it would save us from a lot of flabby thinking and worse scheming. The Negro will never return to Africa to establish a Liberian republic. He is the only man in America who has been brought here against his will. For 250 years there was systematically expunged from the Negro race, the best qualities which fit a man for citizenship in a democracy. Considering the lack of opportunity, the advice of fool friends, and the inherent limitations which are both natural and acquired, the Negro has done pretty well since the day that he was set free.

The fact that the Negro is dying in such large numbers of tuberculosis and other still more frightful diseases is, of course, due to his ignorance and to other reasons for which he is largely responsible, but we cannot forget that it is also to be charged to the fact that he is compelled to live in the worst sections of our towns and cities, often without drainage or sewerage or garbage service, without water within a reasonable distance, and scarcely any of the sanitary conditions in house or yard or street, which whites consider an absolute necessity. We drive the worst forms of immorality into the Negro quarters and then curse the Negro because of his moral weakness. We subject him to the severest test of our city life—physical, moral and political—and then cynically declare that the “nigger” is no good anyway. Let’s give him a square deal—a man’s chance. Neither race hatred nor mawkish sentimentality will settle this very delicate question. The South cannot settle it alone, and the North cannot do the work for the South. The North and the South, the city and the country must tackle the thing together, for this is a national problem.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### *The Negro as an Explorer, Revolutionist and Soldier.*

The halo of romance has ever surrounded the brow of the explorer. There has ever been a fascination to those daring pioneers, who blazed a path into the unknown and discovered new lands and continents and lakes and rivers. And the history of American exploration cannot be written without mentioning the eternal Negro. Professor Alexander Francis Chamberlain of Clark University, in his article on "The Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization," says:

And in their voyages and travels, the Spaniards in the New World had the services of the Negro. The first man to reach the land of the Seven Cities of Cibola, and open the Southwest of what is now the United States of America, was the Negro Estevancillo, and the vessel of Captain Arellano (1564-1565), the first to make the return voyage across the Pacific from the East Indies to Mexico, was steered by a mulatto pilot.

The first ship built in America was said to have been constructed by the slaves of Vasquez de Allon, who tried to establish a Spanish settlement where Jamestown, Va., was afterwards founded. Thirty Negroes accompanied Balboa and they aided him in building the first ship on the Pacific coast. Cortez brought 300 slaves to America to assist him in his expedition. Santiago del Principe was founded by Negro slaves, who later rebelled against their Spanish masters.

Thus we see that Negroes crossed the Isthmus of Panama with Balboa. They accompanied Cortez to Mexico in 1522. Little Stephen, another Negro, was the first discoverer of Zuni, New Mexico. Negroes went with De Soto in 1540, and one of their number was the first settler in Alabama. Negroes also accompanied William Clark in Lewis and Clark's expedition, which, in 1840, explored the Missouri River and gained Oregon for the United States. A Negro, Saunders, accompanied John C. Fremont in 1848, vainly trying to cross the Rocky Mountains.

The "Artistic Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition" said:

Early in the spring of 1779, a fugitive San Domingoan slave, named Baptiste Point de Sable, found his way from the French settlements of Louisiana to the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, built a rude cabin on the north bank of the Chicago River, near its mouth, and began in a small way to trade in furs with the French and Indians. It is therefore safe to say that Point de Sable's rude log hut was the first dwelling erected on the present site of Chicago and that the refugee slave was its first permanent resident and landholder. He is described by one writer of that time as "a large, handsome, well-educated Negro," and by another as "a Negro trader, pretty wealthy, who drank freely and was much in the French interest." Previous to his settlement on the lake he had spent some time among the Peorias with a friendly countryman named Glamorgan, and was familiar with Indian traditions and customs. During his long residence at Chicago he was intimately associated with the Pottawatomies, and, it is said, aspired to become the head of the nation. This was no mean ambition, for the Pottawatomies were at that time a numerous and warlike people, rich in territory, great in council, and among the most intellectual and humane of all the savage tribes. It is more probable, however, that he was well content in the possession of untrammelled freedom, and the prominence which came with the growth of his business. At least he lived quietly on in his narrow cabin until 1796, or for seventeen years, when, broken in health, he sold out his business and holdings to a Frenchman named Le Mai, and returning to Peoria, died in the home of his friend Glamorgan.

#### MATT HENSON AT THE NORTH POLE.

It is indeed a miracle of history that when Commodore Peary, braving the rigors of arctic cold, had the honor of being the first civilized human being to plant his feet on the North Pole, his only companion, and the man who helped to place the stars and stripes there, was Matt Henson, a Negro, a child of a race that was reared and matured in the tropics. This Negro demonstrates that the Negro can live anywhere from the chill arctic to the torrid equator.

#### THE NEGRO AS A REVOLUTIONIST.

A race is not only judged by its intellectual acquisitions, but by the quality and fiber of its manhood; by its innate self-respect and inborn desire for freedom. The love of liberty has ever been the touchstone of the soul life of a people. And during the past

three centuries the Negro has frequently manifested this desire for self-government and self-expression.

From 1630 to 1700 fugitive slaves successfully maintained the Negro State of Palmares in Brazil against the other slave-holding provinces. The Negro princes ruled the states as dependencies of the governor of India. They were originally imported from East Africa to become warriors and fighting seamen for Indian princes. But they finally carved out states for themselves. The world knows the story of how the Haytiens, under Toussaint L'Ouverture, drove back the English and threw off the French and Spanish yokes. In the chapter upon "Distinguished Foreign Negroes," the story of the brave and fearless Maroons is told. But the African Negro, brought as a slave to America, and dominated and overawed by a superior civilization, still felt the longing for freedom.

#### JOHN URY.

The Ury conspiracy is the first attempt of Northern Negroes to attempt any revolutionary scheme; but the master-minds, the leaders, and the guiding principles of the attempted conspiracy were white men.

On June 25, 1741, Mary Burton, a Negro slave, accused Rev. John Ury, a Catholic priest and schoolmaster, with having visited John Hughson's tavern in New York City with some Negroes, to form a conspiracy to kill and rob white people and burn their houses in New York City. He was tried, found guilty and hanged on August 29, 1741. One hundred and fifty-four Negroes were imprisoned, of whom fourteen were burnt, eighteen hanged, seventy-one transported and the rest pardoned. Twenty-four whites were also arrested, of whom four were executed and the rest set free.

#### CATO OF STONO.

Cato of Stono was the first American Negro to breathe the fire of his own ambition, the ardor of his own spirit into his fellows, fill them with a quenchless and insatiable desire for freedom, and lead them on to battle and carnage.

In 1740, a few Negroes assembled at the town of Stone, S. C., killed two young white men, who were guarding a warehouse,



seized arms and ammunition, elected one of their number captain, and behind beating drums and flying banners marched off like an organized army. They broke into the house of Mr. Godfrey, killed him, his wife and child, and set fire to the building. Then they moved towards Jacksonburgh, pillaging and burning the houses of Sacheverel, Nash, Spry and others, killing all the white people they met and enrolling all the Negroes they ran across in their little band.

Governor Bull met them as he was returning from Charleston, and believing that discretion was the better part of valor, let them pass by on the other side. They marched for twelve miles, spreading destruction like a devastating fire and leaving burning and plundered buildings and dead bodies in their wake. The militia was called out at Wilton, and under Captain Bee, attacked, killed and captured several as, intoxicated with success and drunk with rum, they were singing and dancing in an open field. The people of South Carolina were alarmed. And on May 7, 1763, the Legislature passed an act, imposing a fine of twenty shillings upon every white male, who did not carry a gun or a pair of horse pistols, "with at least six charges of gunpowder a ball," as he went to church or "other public places of divine worship."

#### GABRIEL'S DEFEAT IN 1800.

Gabriel was the second slave who planned an insurrection during slavery times. He, too, demonstrated the fact that the Negro resented enforced servitude, and had the courage to strike a blow for his freedom. Gabriel was the slave of a cruel young master, who, Colonel Higginson says, "had recently inherited a plantation a few miles from Richmond." Gabriel was twenty-five years of age and ignorant of the alphabet when he conceived his revolutionary scheme; but in intelligence, courage, energy and force of character he was far above his fellows or his status as a slave.

His insurrection is remarkable, as it was identical with John Brown's plan, namely, to arouse the slaves, seize arms and escape to the mountains of Virginia and West Virginia.

Colonel George desired Sunday to be the day of execution, as country Negroes could travel on that day without suspicion.

But Gabriel, the moving spirit among the conspirators, decided on Saturday. The main facts regarding the insurrection of Gabriel, Demark Vesey and Nat Turner have largely been derived from the late Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson's interesting work entitled "Travelers and Outlaws."

Colonel Higginson says, "their arms and ammunition, so far as reported, consisted of a peck of bullets, ten pounds of powder, and twelve scythe-swords, made by Gabriel's brother Solomon and fitted with handles by Gabriel himself."

Colonel Higginson, on pages 197 and following, said:

And, indeed, as was soon discovered, the effective weapon of the insurgents lay in the very audacity of their plan. . . . It was to have taken effect on the first day of September. The rendezvous for the blacks was to be a brook six miles from Richmond. Eleven hundred men were to assemble there, and were to be divided into three columns, their officers having been designated in advance. All were to march on Richmond,—then a town of eight thousand inhabitants,—under cover of the night. The right wing was instantly to seize upon the penitentiary building, just converted into an arsenal; while the left wing was to take possession of the powderhouse. These two columns were to be armed chiefly with clubs, as their undertaking depended for success upon surprise, and was expected to prevail without hard fighting. But it was the central force, armed with muskets, cutlasses, knives and pikes, upon which the chief responsibility rested; these men were to enter the town at both ends simultaneously and begin a general carnage, none being excepted save the French inhabitants who were supposed for some reason to be friendly with the Negroes. In a very few hours, it was thought, they would have entire control of the metropolis. And that this hope was not in the least unreasonable, was shown by the subsequent confessions of weakness from the whites. "They could scarcely have failed of success," wrote the Richmond correspondent of the *Boston Chronicle*, "for after all, we could only muster four or five hundred men, of whom not more than thirty had muskets."

For the insurgents, if successful, the penitentiary held several thousand stand of arms; the powderhouse was well stocked, the Capitol contained the State treasury; the mills would give them bread; the control of the bridge across James River would keep off enemies from beyond. Thus secured and provided, they planned to issue proclamations summoning to their standard "their fellow Negroes and the friends of humanity throughout the continent." In a week, it was estimated, they would have fifty thousand men on their side, with which force they could easily possess themselves of other towns, and, indeed, a slave named John Scott—possibly the dangerous possessor of the ten dollars—was already appointed to head the attack on Petersburg. But in case of final failure,

the project included a retreat to the mountains, with their new-found property. John Brown was therefore anticipated by Gabriel, sixty years before, in believing the Virginia mountains to have been "created, from the foundation of the world, as a place of refuge for fugitive slaves."

Higginson says, on pages 199-201 of his "Travelers and Outlaws":

But Gabriel's campaign failed, like that of the Federalists, and the appointed day brought disasters more fatal than even the sword of General Pinckney. The affrighted Negroes declared that "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." The most furious tempest ever known in Virginia burst upon the land that day, instead of an insurrection. Roads and plantations were submerged. Bridges were carried away. The fords, which then, as now, were the frequent substitutes for bridges in that region, were rendered wholly impassible. The Brood Swamp, one of the most important strategic points of the insurgents was entirely inundated, hopelessly dividing Prosser's farm from Richmond; the country Negroes could not get in, nor those from the city get out. The thousand men dwindled to a few hundred, and before they could reassemble they were betrayed.

Early in September, 1800, two Negroes came to the counting room of Mr. Mosely Sheppard of Henrico County, Va., and betrayed the plot and one of them, Ben Woodfolk or Woolfolk, in the court on the 15th of the same month repeated his confession. Woolfolk was immediately pardoned by the court.

Richmond and its vicinity was alarmed, and was up in arms. The night patrol was doubled in all of the large towns of the State. The Governor "appointed for himself three aides-de-camp." A troop of United States cavalry was ordered to Richmond. From five to fifteen Negroes were arrested one day, convicted in lump the next day, and hanged on the third day.

Governor Monroe offered a reward of \$300 for the arrest of Gabriel and another arch conspirator named Jack Bowler, alias Ditcher. Bowler surrendered himself, but Gabriel eluded his pursuers for several weeks.

He was finally captured at Norfolk, on board a schooner just arrived from Richmond, in whose hold he had concealed himself for eleven days, having thrown overboard a bayonet and bludgeon, which were his only arms. Crowds of people collected to see him, including many of his own color. He was arrested on September 24, convicted on October 13, and executed on October 17, and it is known of him further only that like almost all leaders of slave insurrections, he showed a courage which his enemies could not gainsay. Ten associates perished on the gallows with him. When he was apprehended, he manifested the greatest marks of firmness and confidence, showing not the least disposition to equivocate, or screen himself from justice—but making no confession that could implicate any one else. "The behavior of Gabriel under his

misfortunes," said the *Norfolk Epitome* of September 25, "was such as might be expected from a mind capable of forming the daring project which he had conceived."

The *United States Gazette* for October 9 states, more sarcastically, that "the general is said to have manifested the utmost composure, and with the true spirit of heroism seems ready to resign his high office, and even his life, rather than gratify the officious inquiries of the governor."

"Gen. John Scott," another insurrection chief, a slave of Mr. Greenhow, lured by Mr. McCrea, was captured by his employer in Norfolk as he was about to escape, in "a public conveyance," being headed for Philadelphia.

A song, "Gabriel's Defeat," was composed and set to music by a colored man. It was played at dances of white people, as well as in the huts of slaves. It was suspected that handbills, written by Callender, a Frenchman and friend of Jefferson, imprisoned in Richmond, and distributed by an Irish Methodist preacher, precipitated the plot.

Gabriel's insurrection terrified Virginia. Richmond protected its state house by a permanent cordon of bayonets. None could enter it save by passing an armed and uniformed sentinel at the doorway. Secret sessions of the next Virginia Legislature were held and the governor of Virginia secretly corresponded with the president of the United States "with a view to securing a grant of land, whither troublesome slaves might be banished." This was the foundation of the American Colonization Society.

The first formal meeting of the Colonization Society, in 1817, was called in aid of this Virginia movement to set apart territory in Louisiana for free and dangerous Negroes.

#### DEMARK VESEY'S PLOT, JUNE, 1822.

Demark Vesey was unquestionably the ablest, the most resourceful and the most formidable of all the Negroes who planned insurrections during slavery times and demonstrated the fact that the Negro resented enforced servitude and had the courage to strike a blow for his freedom. When we consider how skillfully planned his insurrection was, how many thousands of recruits he gained, over what a wide stretch of territory his

operations extended, the secrecy that prevailed both before and after the insurrection was discovered and during the trial of Vesey and the other leaders, and the heroic stoicism of Vesey and the other leaders at the trial, we are forced to admit that Vesey possessed both a constructive and creative mind and a wonderful personality. He possessed both the mind to plan, the heart to dare and the arm to strike. Nothing but the fact that there was a traitor in the camp prevented Vesey's conspiracy from being a success, startling the world and becoming one of the lurid hair-raising events of the nineteenth century. As it was, the name of Demark Vesey was remembered for years in the Southland. And a vague, undefined dread of the possibility of another Vesey rising hung like a pall, like a dark, ominous cloud over the sunny South. My account of this insurrection, likewise, has been mainly derived from Colonel Higginson's entertaining volume on "Travelers and Outlaws."

The *City Gazette* of Charleston, S. C., for August 21, 1822, says: "Demark (or Telemagia) Vesey, a free mulatto, was worth \$8,000 in property when he died."

In 1781, Captain Vesey of Charleston, S. C., who captained a ship that transported slaves between St. Thomas and Cape François, sailed for the Cape with three hundred and ninety slaves. He and his officers became attached to a bright and attractive-looking slave boy of fourteen years, whom they made a pet and cabin boy of the ship, giving him a suit of new clothes and calling him Telemague, which was "corrupted into Telmak and Demark." They sold him at Cape François and returned to St. Thomas.

On another trip to Cape François, Telemagia was returned to Captain Vesey, because he was "subject to epileptic fits." For twenty years Demark was a faithful slave, traveling over the world with his master and learning to speak various languages. In 1800, he won fifteen hundred dollars in the East Bay Street lottery and bought his freedom of his master for six hundred dollars. Being ambitious, powerful and energetic, he soon became a successful and prosperous carpenter in Charleston. A South Carolina report says he was looked up to with awe and respect. His temper was impetuous and domineering in the extreme, qualifying him for the despotic rule of which he

was ambitious. All his passions were ungovernable and savage; and to his numerous wives and children he displayed the haughty and capricious cruelty of an Eastern bashaw.

He familiarized himself with the Scriptures, from which he could quote freely, and went around endeavoring with scriptural citations to stir up the Negroes against the whites. Zechariah 14:1-3 and Joshua 6:21, were his favorite texts. The inflammatory pamphlets on slavery brought into Charleston from other states and from Sierra Leone, and speeches in Congress against the admission of Missouri into the Union, aided and abetted his pleas. He rebuked colored men for bowing to white men, preached the doctrine of equality of man and referred to the fable of Hercules and the Wagoner.

He talked with white men in grog shops, when he could be overheard by Negroes, held conferences in his home and read to his friends and associates Mr. King's speech in Congress against slavery. Thus Vesey gained a following. But Peter Poyas was the military genius who could formulate plans and organize, mass and marshal forces. He it was who decided "who should or should not be enrolled," and registered candidates. He it was who planned the night attack, the enrollment of a mounted troop to scour the streets, and kept the "list of all the shops where arms and ammunition" were sold. He it was who was to capture the main guardhouse, the strategic point, advancing alone and unaided to surprise the sentinel. He possessed a magnetic personality that dominated others, and a hypnotic eye that compelled others to do his bidding.

Then there was Jack Purcell of Angola, called Gullah Jack—a conjurer in his native country and South Carolina. Supposed to be invulnerable and teaching others how to be invulnerable, he possessed authority over many black Charlestonians, especially over the Angolese. He met his followers monthly at Bulkley's Farm, the black overseer of which was one of the conspirators. This farm could be reached by water, thus permitting the conspirators to escape the patrol. Higginson says here they prepared cartridges and pikes, and had primitive banquets, which assumed a melodramatic character under the inspiring guidance of Jack. A blind preacher, named Philip, assisted Gullah Jack and preyed on the superstition of the Negroes.

Monday Gell, a native African and harnessmaker, who could read and write, was the secretary of the cabal. Tom Russell made pikes and Polydor Faker fitted them with handles. Bacchus Hammett had charge of the firearms and ammunition. William Garner and Mingo Harth were selected to lead the horse guard. Lat Forrester enrolled and Ned Bennett, the governor's servant, commanded the Negroes in the rural districts.

Higginson says it was the custom then, as later, for the country Negroes to flock largely into Charleston on Sunday. More than a thousand came, on ordinary occasions, and a far larger number might at any time make their appearance without exciting any suspicion. They gathered in, especially by water, from the opposite sides of Ashley and Cooper rivers, and from the neighboring island; and they came in a great number of canoes of various sizes, many of which would carry a hundred men, which were ordinarily employed in bringing agricultural products to the Charleston market.

The details of the plan, however, were not rashly committed to the mass of confederates; they were known only to a few, and were finally to be announced only after the evening prayer meetings on the appointed Sunday. But each leader had his own company enlisted and his work marked out. When the clock struck twelve, all were to move. Peter Poyas was to lead a party ordered to assemble at South Bay and to be joined by a force from James Island. He was then to march up and seize the arsenal and guardhouse opposite St. Michael's Church and detach a sufficient number to cut off all white citizens who should appear at the alarm-posts. A second body of Negroes, from the country and the Neck, headed by Ned Bennett, was to assemble on the Neck and seize the arsenal there. A third was to meet at Governor Bennett's Mills, under command of Rollo, and after putting the governor and intendant to death to march through the city, or be posted at Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannonsborough from entering the city. A fourth party from the neighboring localities, and partly from the country, was to rendezvous on Gadsden's Wharf and attack the upper guardhouse. A fifth, composed of country and Neck Negroes, was to assemble at Bulkley's Farm, two miles and a half from the city, seize the upper guard-magazine, and then

march down; and a sixth was to assemble at Demark Vesey's and obey his orders. A seventh detachment, under Gullah Jack, was to assemble in Boundary Street, at the head of King Street, to capture the arms of the Neck company of militia, and to take an additional supply from Mr. Duquercron's shop. The naval stores on Mey's Wharf were also to be attacked. Meanwhile a horse company, consisting of many draymen, hostlers and butcher boys, was to meet at Lightwood's Alley, and then scour the streets to prevent the whites from assembling. Every white man coming out of his own door was to be killed; and, if necessary, the city was to be fired in several places—slow-match for this purpose having been purloined from the public arsenal and placed in an accessible position.

Beyond this, the plan of action was either unformed or undiscovered; some slight reliance seems to have been placed on English aid—more on assistance from San Domingo. At any rate, all the ships in the harbor were to be seized; and in these, if the worse came to worst, those most deeply inculcated could set sail, bearing with them, perhaps, the spoils of shops and of banks. It seems to be admitted by the official narrative that they might have been able, at that season of the year, and with the aid of the fortifications on the Neck and around the harbor, to retain possession of the city for some time.

So unsuspecting were the authorities, so unprepared the citizens, so open to attack lay the city, that nothing seemed necessary to the success of the insurgents except organization and arms. Indeed, the plan of organization easily covered a supply of arms. By their own contributions, they had secured enough to strike the first blow,—a few hundred pikes and daggers, together with swords and guns for the leaders. But they had carefully marked every place in the city where weapons were to be obtained.

But William Paul, a slave of John Paul, on Saturday afternoon, May 25, 1822, approached Devany, a house servant of Colonel Prioleau of Charleston, S. C., who was loitering around the wharves, and attempted to enlist him in the plot. But Devany was not cast in the heroic mould. He consulted Pensil or Pencell, a free colored man, who urged him to tell his master. He told the news to his mistress and her young son. His master, Colonel



Prioleau, returned from the country five days later and was informed of the plot. He in turn informed Mr. Hamilton, the intendant or Major. He brought the matter to the attention of the corporation, who examined Devany and William before five o'clock.

William Paul was locked up and stated that Mingo Harth and Peter Poyas were his insurrectionary chiefs. They were immediately arrested, but showed such self-possession and composure (treating the matter as a joke) they were soon released. When searched, their trunks and premises showed no evidence of revolutionary design. Then Paul began to implicate other men. But many of the accused came to the intendant of their own accord, indignantly protested their innocence and offered themselves for examination. This perplexed the authorities. But they provided sixteen hundred rounds of ball cartridges and armed the sentinels and patrols with loaded bayonets. Previously the guard went on duty without muskets, being armed only with sheathed bayonets and bludgeons.

On Friday, June 14, a slave, who was a Methodist class leader, informed his master that Rollo, a slave of Governor Bennett, had told him three months before that the following Sunday night, June 16, was the time set for the insurrection. The military preparations the following night revealed to the conspirators that their plot was detected. In vain they planned to revive it on July 24. Within a week they were prisoners. Thirty-five were sentenced to death, thirty-four transported, twenty-seven acquitted by the court and twenty-five discharged without trial.

Higginson, upon page 261 of his "Travelers and Outlaws," says:

It is to be remembered, that the plot failed because a man unauthorized and incompetent, William Paul, undertook to make enlistments on his own account. He happened on one of precisely that class of men,—favored house servants—whom his leaders had expressly reserved for more skillful manipulations. He being thus detected, one would have supposed that the discovery of many accomplices would at once have followed. The number enlisted was counted by thousands, yet for twenty-nine days after the first treachery, and during twenty days of official examination, only fifteen of the conspirators were ferreted out. . . .

That a conspiracy on so large a scale should have existed in embryo during four years, and in active form for several months, and yet have been so well managed, that, after actual betrayal, the authorities were again thrown off their guard, and the plot nearly brought to a head again,—this certainly shows extraordinary ability in the leaders, and a talent for concerted action on the part of slaves generally, with which they have hardly been credited. And it is also to be noted that the range of the conspiracy extended far beyond Charleston. It was proved that Frank, slave of Mr. Ferguson, living nearly forty miles from the city, had boasted of having enlisted four plantations in his immediate neighborhood. It was in evidence that the insurgents “were trying all round the country, from Georgetown and Santee round about Combabee, to get people,” and, after the trials, it was satisfactorily established that Vesey “had been in the country as far north as South Santee, and southwardly as far as the Euhaws, which is between seventy and eighty miles from the city.” Some writer said, “For although success could not possibly have attended the conspirators, yet before their suppression, Charleston would probably have been wrapped in flames, many valuable lives would have been sacrificed, and an immense loss of property sustained by the citizens, even though no other distressing occurrences were experienced by them, while the plantations in the lower country would have been disorganized, and the agricultural interests have sustained an enormous loss.”

Higginson says, on pages 269 and 270:

No doubt, there were enough special torches with which a man so skillful as Demark Vesey could kindle up these dusky powder-magazines, but, after all, the permanent peril lay in the powder. So long as that existed, everything was incendiary. Any torn scrap in the street might contain a Missouri-compromise speech, or a report of the last battle in San Domingo, or one of those able letters of Boyer's which were winning the praise of all, or one of John Randolph's stirring speeches in England against the slave-trade. . . .

Of course the insurrection threw the whole slavery question open to the public. “We are sorry to see,” said the *National Intelligence* of August 31, “that a discussion of the hateful Missouri question is likely to be revived in consequence of the allusions to its supposed effect in producing the late servile insurrection in South Carolina.”

A pamphlet, published in Charleston, under the nom de plume, “Achotes,” argued against slave-labor in towns and suggested “that slaves in Charleston should be sold or transferred to the plantation, and their places supplied by white labor.” Another pamphlet recommended Episcopal Church services and prohibiting Negroes from attending Fourth-of-July celebrations.

Demark Vesey, Peter Poyas, Rolla, Ned and Monday, and the other thirty-four, behaved with stoical composure during

the trial and at the execution. Gullah Jack, the conjurer, like the others, feigned ignorance at first. He played the fool. But his courage forsook him after his sentence. But Vesey showed the greatest ability and ingenuity during his trial. He observed how the fears, feelings and consciences of his betrayers were preyed on. Higginson says:

Then turning to the court he skillfully availed himself of the point which had so much impressed the community, the intrinsic improbability that a man in his position of freedom and prosperity should sacrifice everything to free other people. If they thought it so incredible, why not give him the benefit of the incredibility? The act of being as they stated, one of infatuation, why convict him of it on the bare word of men, who, by their own showing had not only shared the infatuation, but proved traitors to it.

Peter Poyas, the organizer, was the real hero. When one of his fellow conspirators, who had been chained to the floor in the same cell with him was about to give way to the promises, threats and tortures of the authorities and give the names of others, Peter raised himself on his elbows, looked the other fellow in the eye and said, "Die like a man." Then his accomplice kept silent. As the six leaders were about to be executed Peter Poyas said, "Do not open your lips; die silent as you shall see me do." And the others caught the contagion of his heroic and stoical spirit.

#### NAT TURNER'S INSURRECTION AUGUST 22, 1831.

Now we come to the fourth Negro whose name struck terror to the South,—a religious fanatic who possessed the blood-thirsty ferocity of Attila, a slave whose concentration of will, deadly earnestness, intensity of purpose and avenging fury, made him a demon of destruction, and makes him loom up in the dark annals of American slavery as the very embodiment and incarnation of the spirit of vengeance, like the harpies of Greek mythology. I refer to Nat Turner, who, with his fellow avengers, murdered their master and mistress in the night, made their escape and started forth on a wholesale massacre, but were soon captured and put to death.

While the newspapers of the country were discussing the question of social rivalry at the White House, General Jackson's

peculiarities and South Carolina's nullification, the name of Nat Turner suddenly burst like a bolt from the blue upon the astonished country. And the terror of his name swept over the Southland, as the terror of Attila's name swept over Rome centuries before, for every Southerner dreaded lest there might be a Nat Turner in his household.

Nat Turner was born on October 2, 1800, and was a short, stocky, powerful man of dark mulatto complexion, African features and a strong determined face. Originally owned by Benjamin Turner, he had been transferred to Putnam Boore and thence to Joseph Travis, who married the widow of Putnam Moore, whose plantation was a typical sleepy, anti-bellum plantation at "The Cross Keys" in the southeastern section of Virginia, about twenty-five miles from the great Dismal Swamp.

Turner was a religious fanatic who believed from childhood he was called by God for some great work. "White witnesses admitted that he had never been known to swear an oath, to drink a drop of spirits, or to commit a theft." He early manifested musical intelligence, and his youthful companions soon had, as Higginson says, "a superstitious faith in his gift and destiny." He was handy with tools and experimented in making paper, gunpowder, pottery and other things. Higginson says, "this impression of personal destiny grew with his growth; he fasted, prayed, preached, read the Bible, heard voices when he walked behind his plough, and communicated his revelations to the awe-struck slaves. They told him in return that if they had his sense they would not serve any master in the world.

Nat Turner's wife was a slave, belonging to another plantation. His heated imagination saw spirits in the sky, blood drops on the corn, and hieroglyphic marks on the dry leaves. He was never a Baptist preacher; but he and Brantley, a poor white man, baptized themselves. He was subject to visions and religious hallucinations. Higginson says:

He saw white and black spirits contending in the skies; the sun was darkened, the thunder rolled. . . . He saw drops of blood on the corn; this was Christ's blood shed for man. He saw on the leaves in the woods letters and numbers and figures of men,—the same symbol which he had seen in the skies. On May 12, 1828, the Holy Spirit appeared to him and proclaimed that the yoke of Jesus must fall on him, and he must

fight against the serpent when the sign appeared. Then came an eclipse of the sun in February, 1831; this was the sign that he must arise and prepare himself, and slay his enemies with their own weapons; then also the seal was removed from his lips, and then he confided his plans to four associates.

Travis, Nat's owner, was said to have been a kind and humane master. But Nat had a scar on one of his temples, another on the back of his neck, and a large knot on one of the bones of his right arm. How he came by these is a mystery. Tradition makes Turner shrewd and ingenious. Higginson says that when caught with lime and lampblack in hand, conning over a half-finished county map on the barn door, Turner was always "planning what to do if he were blind," or "studying how to get to Mr. Francis's house."

On Sunday noon, August 21, 1831, Turner and six other slaves, Henry, Hark or Hercules, Nelson, Sam, Will and Jack, met in the woods on Joseph Travis's plantation, ostensibly for a barbecue. One brought a pig and another brandy. Seemingly it was a jovial feast. But Higginson says that for eleven hours they remained there in anxious consultation. One can imagine those dusky faces, beneath the funereal woods and amid the flickering of pine-knot torches, preparing that stern revenge whose shuddering echoes should ring through the land so long. Two things were at last decided: to begin their work that night and to begin it with a massacre so swift and irresistible as to create in a few days more terror than many battles, and so spare the need of future bloodshed. . . .

John Brown invaded Virginia with nineteen men, and with the avowed resolution to take no life but in self-defence. Nat Turner attacked Virginia from within, with six men, and with the determination to spare no life until his power was established. John Brown intended to pass rapidly through Virginia and then retreat to the mountains. Nat Turner intended to "conquer Southampton County as the white men did in the Revolution, and then retreat, if necessary, to the Dismal Swamp. Each plan was deliberately matured; each was in its way practicable, but each was defeated by a single false step, as will soon appear.

We must pass over the details of horror, as they occurred during the next twenty-four hours. Swift and stealthy as Indians, the black men passed from house to house,—not pausing, not hesitating, as their terrible work went on. In one thing they were more humane than Indians, or than

white men fighting against Indians; there was no gratuitous outrage beyond the death-blow itself; no insult, no mutilation; but in every house they entered that blow fell on man, woman and child—nothing that had a white skin was spared. From every house they took arms and ammunition, and, from a few, money. On every plantation they found recruits. Those dusky slaves, so obsequious to their master the day before, so prompt to sing and dance before his Northern visitors, were all swift to transform themselves into fiends of retribution now. Show them sword or musket, and they grasped it, though it were an heirloom from Washington himself. The troop increased from house to house,—first to fifteen, then to forty, then to sixty. Some were armed with muskets, some with axes, some with scythes, some came on their masters' horses. As the number increased, they could be divided and the awful work was carried on more rapidly still. The plan then was for an advanced guard of horsemen to approach each house at a gallop, and surround it till the others came up. Meanwhile, what agonies of terror must have taken place within, shared alike by innocent and by guilty; what memories of wrongs inflicted on those dusky creatures, by some,—what innocent participation, by others, in the penance! The outbreak lasted for forty-eight hours; but, during that period, fifty-five whites were slain without the loss of a single slave. . . .

When the number of adherents had increased to fifty or sixty, Nat Turner judged it time to strike at the county seat, Jerusalem. Thither a few white fugitives had already fled and couriers might thence be dispatched for aid to Richmond and Petersburg, unless promptly intercepted. Besides, he could there find arms, ammunition and money; though they had already obtained, it is dubiously reported, from eight hundred to one thousand dollars. On the way it was necessary to pass the plantation of Mr. Parker, three miles from Jerusalem. Some of the men wished to stop here and enlist some of their friends. Nat Turner objected, as delay might prove dangerous; he yielded at last, and it proved fatal.

He remained at the gate with six or eight men; thirty or forty went to the house, half a mile distant. They remained too long, and he went alone to hasten them. During his absence a party of eighteen white men came up suddenly, dispersing the small guard left at the gate; and when the main body of slaves emerged from the house, they encountered, for the first time, their armed masters. The blacks halted; the whites advanced cautiously within a hundred yards, and fired a volley; on its being returned they broke into disorder, and hurriedly retreated, leaving some wounded on the ground. The retreating whites were pursued, and were saved only by falling in with another band of fresh men from Jerusalem, with whose aid they turned upon the slaves, who in their turn fell into confusion. Turner, Hark, and about twenty men on horseback retreated in some order; the rest were scattered. The leader still planned to reach Jerusalem by a private way, thus evading pursuit; but

at last decided to stop for the night in the hope of enlisting additional recruits.

During the night the number increased again to forty and they encamped on Major Ridley's plantation. An alarm took place during the darkness, whether real or imaginary, does not appear; and the men became scattered again. Proceeding to make fresh enlistments with the daylight, they were resisted at Dr. Blunt's house, where his slaves, under his orders, fired upon them, and this, with a later attack from a party of white men under Capt. Harris, so broke up the whole force that they never re-united. The few who remained together agreed to separate for a few hours to see if anything could be done to revive the insurrection, and meet again that evening at their original rendezvous. But they never reached it.

For two nights and two days Turner waited for his comrades to rejoin him in the gloomy woods where, forty-eight hours before, he had unfolded to them his plan. None came. He knew that his insurrection had failed. He dug a hole under a pile of fence rails in a field and lay there for six weeks, leaving his hiding place at midnight to get water from a nearby spring. He had secured his food from a nearby house.

Meanwhile a panic was created and wild rumors and exaggerated tales went flying throughout the state. United States troops came from Fort Monroe and from the United States ships *Warren* and *Natchez*, to the number of eight hundred. Volunteer companies came from Petersburg, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Va., and from North Carolina. "The militia of Norfolk, Nansemond, and Princess Anne counties, and the United States troops at Old Point Comfort were ordered to scour the Dismal Swamp, where it was believed that two or three thousand fugitives were preparing to join the insurgents. It was even proposed to send two companies from New York and one from New London to the same point. When the various forces reached Southampton County, they found all labor paralyzed and whole plantations abandoned." Women and children fled from their homes and took to the woods, lying there at night. They crowded into Jerusalem from the other side of the river, and two hundred women gathered at Vix's.

Then followed the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of Negroes. A North Carolina correspondent stated that one hundred and twenty had been killed in one day. Higginson says

men were tortured to death, burned, maimed, and subjected to nameless atrocities. The overseers were called on to point out any slaves whom they distrusted and if any tried to escape they were shot down. Horsemen from Richmond started to shoot down every colored person whom they encountered in Southampton County.

Fifty-five colored men were formally tried. Seventeen were convicted and hanged, twelve convicted and transported, twenty acquitted and four free colored men tried again and acquitted. One of those executed was Lucy, a slave of John T. Barrow.

The terror of the insurrection spread far and wide. The eastern shore of Maryland, Sussex, Dover and Somerset counties, Del., Raleigh and Fayetteville, N. C., several counties in North Carolina, South Carolina, Macon, Ga., Columbus and Fort Mitchell, Ala., Tennessee, Louisville, Frankfort, Ky., and New Orleans, La., were alarmed. An insurrection was feared in New Orleans, where handbills had been circulated, stating that Hannibal was a black man and that all men were equal. Five hundred citizens were armed and ordered to the city and over Southampton County.

A reward of \$500 was offered by the governor on September 17 for Turner's capture. Later this was raised to \$1,100. On October 15 two dogs smelled the provisions hid in the cave and led two Negroes there. Turner was discovered. He fled and nearly six hundred men started in pursuit. Then he hid ten days in the wheat-stacks on Mr. Francis's plantation. He was discovered on October 25 and fired on by Mr. Francis, the buck-shot going through his hat. He escaped again. He hid among fallen pine trees and was discovered and compelled to surrender by Benjamin Phipps, who leveled a gun on him. Turner was never further from Cross Keys than five miles. Higginson says the insurrection ended where it began; for this spot was only a mile and a half from the house of Joseph Travis. The confession occurred on November 1. The trial and conviction occurred on November 5, and the execution on Friday, November 11, at noon. His wife was beaten with the lash to force her to reveal her husband's papers.

Now let us turn to a pleasanter episode in the Negro's history—his record as a soldier in his country's wars.



## THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER.

When I first visited Boston in September, 1897, three monuments on the Boston Commons attracted my attention. One was the monument to Charles Sumner, with his intellectual brow, his noble profile and heroic figure, standing near the place where one takes the cars for Cambridge. Another was the monument dedicated to Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, the first martyr to fall in the Revolutionary War in the Boston riot. That monument stands opposite Tremont Street and represents the heroic Negro prone on the ground, with the British soldiers firing over his dead body. The other was the monument dedicated to Colonel Shaw and his Negro regiment, the 54th Massachusetts, which stands opposite the State House on Beacon Hill. When I saw those monuments, I felt that the Negro was part of this great American civilization and that he had not drenched with his blood scores of battle fields in vain.

When we come to the Negro's record as a soldier we find that it is an estimable one. He has fought in every war waged in this country from the French and Indian wars up to the Spanish-American War. He performed deeds of valor at Bunker Hill, Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, and in the charge up San Juan Hill.

Over 5,000 colored soldiers fought in the Revolutionary War. Over 400 colored sailors served in the War of 1812. Negro sailors were with Admiral Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie, and Negro soldiers were with General Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. One hundred and eighty-seven thousand black soldiers fought and 36,847 died in the late Civil War. Colored soldiers participated in 213 battles in the Civil War and distinguished themselves at Fort Wagner, Elustie, Milliken's Bend, Fort Pillow, Petersburg, Newmarket Heights and Port Hudson. General Butler sent colored soldiers to lead the charges up New Market Heights, and Grant sent them to capture the trenches six miles from Petersburg. No less an authority than Colonel P. Hallowell, himself a commander of a Negro regiment, says that but for the reserve force of Negro soldiers Grant might not have won the battle of the Wilderness.

A black regiment under Colonel Nelson led the assault on Port Hudson. They marched all night and led the assault

at five o'clock in the morning. Plancemore, the colored standard bearer, said, "I will bring back the Stars and Stripes or report before the judgment bar of God the reason why." He was shot, and Heath, another colored man, caught up the flag.

The world knows of Robert Morris as the financier of the American Revolution, knows how George T. Stearns of West Medford, Mass., financed John Brown's operations in Kansas and Harper's Ferry, and equipped at his own expense a Negro regiment in the Civil War. Colored men have also made personal sacrifices for their country. In the War of 1812 James Forten, a Negro sailmaker of Philadelphia, Pa., raised a regiment of Negro soldiers to defend the city from an attack of the British. The free colored people of New Orleans furnished Andrew Jackson, at Chalmette, with a battalion of colored soldiers which they armed, equipped and paid for at their own expense.

Not only have Negroes distinguished themselves collectively, but Negro soldiers and sailors have distinguished themselves individually by their genius and valor in the wars that have been waged by this country.

Peter Salem fought like a Homeric hero at the battle of Bunker Hill. His title to fame rests on the fact that he shot the brave and boastful Major Pitcairn as he was leading a charge against the American breastworks, defiantly crying out, "The day is ours." The Revolutionary troops had begun to lose heart, when Peter Salem stepped forward, shot the boastful major in the breast, and thus spread consternation among the British. But an old Salem newspaper gives a different version of the affair; it makes Salem Poor the American David and Colonel Abercrombie the British Goliath who was killed leading the charge. This is the version as it appears in an old Salem newspaper :

There is an interesting record in the Massachusetts Archives (CLXXX, 24), which Dr. Samuel A. Green ran across during his historical researches, and which the *Journal* prints below. It relates to a colored man at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

"The Subscribers beg leave, to Report to your Houble House, (Which Wee do in justice to the Caracter so Brave a Man), that under Our Own observation, Wee declare that A Negro Man Called Salem Poor of Col. Fries Regiment, Capt. Ames, Company in the late Battle of Charlestown behaved like an Experienced Officer, as well as an Excellent Soldier,

to Set forth Particulars of conduct Would be Tedious, Wee Would Only begg leave to say in the Person of this said Negro Centers a Brave and gallant Soldier—The Reward due to so great and Distinguished a Character, Wee submit to the Congress—  
Cambridge Der. 5th, 1775

Jona. Brewer. Col.  
Thomas Nixon Lt. Col.  
Wm Prescott Colo.  
Eiphm Corey Lieut.  
Joseph Baker Lieut  
Joshua Reed lieut

To the Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay.

Jonas Richardson Capt.  
Eliphelet Bodwell Segt.  
Josiah Forster Leutu.  
Ebenr Varnum 2d. Lut.  
Wm. Hudson Ballard Cpt.  
William Smith Capn.  
John Marten Surgt: of a Brec.  
Lieut. Richard Welsh In Council Decr. 21st. 1775  
Read and Sent down  
Perez Morton  
*Dpy Secry*

This paper is indorsed: "Recommendation of Salem Poor a free Negro for his Bavery at ye Battle of Charlestown leave to withdraw it."

Although histories have been written of the members and actions of Colonel Frye's regiment and Captain Ames's company, of which Salem Poor was a member, the account given of him shows that the story of his life was not known. It is, however, noted in Miss Bailey's "History of Andover" that he was a slave, owned by John Poor. At the battle of Bunker Hill, when Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie of the British forces sprang upon the redoubt, while the Americans were running in retreat, and exclaimed, "The day is ours," Salem Poor turned, aimed his gun and felled with a bullet the English leader. The deed was considered by the officers of the regiment to be one of great bravery, as their petition to the General Court of Massachusetts shows.

The name of a Negro is engraved upon the monument dedicated to the soldiers who fell defending Fort Griswold, New York, in the Revolutionary War. Parker Pillsbury wrote to William C. Nell:

The names of the two brave men of color, who fell, with Ledyard, at the storming of Fort Griswold were Lambo Latham and Jordan Freeman. All the names of the slain, at that time, are inscribed on a marble

tablet, wrought into the monument—the names of the colored soldiers last. They were not last in the fight. When Major Montgomery, one of the leaders in the expedition against the Americans, was lifted upon the walls of the fort by his soldiers, flourishing his sword and calling on them to follow him, Jordan Freeman received him on the point of a pike and pinned him dead to the earth (*Vide Hist. Collections of Connecticut*) and the name of Jordan Freeman stands away down, last on the list of heroes, perhaps the greatest hero of them all.

It is said, too, that the colored soldiers charged up the hill in Spanish-American War, singing, "There'll be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-night."

At the beginning of the Civil War, many of the Northerners and most of the Southerners doubted the Negro's ability to stand fire. General Saxton, Colonel T. W. Higginson, Colonel R. G. Shaw and Colonel Hallowell were a few men who risked their lives and faced the prospects of immediate death, if captured by the Southerners, by commanding Negro troops. How nobly the colored soldiers performed their part at the battle of Fort Wagner is illustrated by that magnificent monument on the Boston Commons, opposite the State House. Colonel Shaw is on horseback, his black soldiers have the set, dogged, determined, "do-or-die" look upon their countenances. An angel or dove is hovering over the colonel's head, holding a wreath of victory. Under the statue are the lines beginning:

Right on the red rampart's slippery swell  
With heart that beat a charge he fell.

Professor William James's (Harvard) address upon that occasion will be long remembered. For two days the black soldiers marched under heavy rains and with little food. They arrived on the field of battle tired, hungry and wet. With only a few minutes' rest, they charged upon the ramparts. Colonel Shaw was shot during the first charge; every officer except Lieutenant Higginson was shot; but the gallant regiment fought on until it had lost more than half of its number. Sergeant Carney, the standard bearer, was wounded in the head and in the thigh, but he crawled up under the walls of the fort and for over an hour held the Stars and Stripes aloft over the ramparts. As long as those brave black soldiers saw that flag waving there, they knew

that it was theirs to do and to die and they fought as demons. And as the gallant sergeant was being carried off the field of battle by his comrades, he exclaimed, "Boys, the Old Flag never touched the ground."

Captain James H. Wilson and Mr. Joseph Selsey also fought as heroes in the battle. The latter was wounded in the chest and in the stomach, but would not retire from the field. And from that moment the country never doubted the courage of the Negro.

Then, too, General Robert Smalls of Beaufort, S. C., made himself famous by bringing the *Planter* out of the Charleston harbor, after the captain and his crew had gone ashore. He cleverly answered the rebel signals of Fort Wagner and Fort Morris, and steered towards the Federal fleet. General Smalls showed to the world that the Negro soldier and sailor is not lacking in quickness of perception, fertility of resource, coolness and daring. The country was dazzled and amazed by the brave feat. The news flashed across the wires, "Robert Smalls, a Negro, has brought the *Planter* out of Charleston Harbor." The same night a mass meeting was held in New York City, by the colored people, to advocate the raising of Negro troops. The announcement of Smalls' brave deed filled the men with enthusiasm. Later Smalls saved the *Planter* and brought her out of danger, when her captain became frightened, left the pilot house in a fierce battle and ran below. For this act of bravery, Smalls was made captain of the *Planter*. After the war, he served twelve years in Congress as a member of the House of Representatives. For many years he was collector of the port in Beaufort, S. C., where his daughter, Mrs. Bamfield, is the efficient postmistress. Deputy Reed was an able assistant of Collector Smalls. Recently the hero was honored by being the invited guest at the Phi Beta Kappa banquet at Harvard.

The genius, resourcefulness and intrepid courage of General Maceo, the late Cuban leader, are too well known to call for more than a passing comment. King Menelek of Abyssinia, a Negro, leaped into fame by soundly thrashing the Italians in battle. A recent writer in the *Independent* says that Menelek possesses the constructive military and political genius of a Bismarck.

Dr. Francis Hogan had a very interesting article upon "Negro Soldiers" in the *Horizon*, a magazine formerly edited by

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Mr. L. M. Hershaw and Mr. Freeman Murray. Dr. Hogan said:

The history of Negro soldiers in the United States did not begin with the fugitives received in Virginia as "contraband of war" during the great conflict between the North and the South, many of whom were afterwards incorporated in the army and served as Federal soldiers. Negroes had shed their blood for their American country long before the war. As early as 1716 there was a colored militia in the French part of San Domingo, and we are informed by M. de St. Mery that, in 1764, in the parish of Port au Prince, the colored militia were under the leadership of a Negro captain of the name of Jean Soliman. This need not surprise us, for we learn from another source that, as far back as 1637 the Portuguese possessed a clever black general, Henry Diaz, who served with distinction in their wars against the Dutch. Hannibal, Peter the Great's celebrated Negro soldier, rose from slavery to become a general in the Russian army and the head or director of the department of military engineering. He even reached the highest possible military rank, and at his death was Commander-in-Chief of Peter the Great's army.

The military genius of Toussaint L'Ouverture was manifested in spite of the ignorance in which he had been brought up. He could barely read and write, yet we find him called, in *La Biographie Universelle*, "one of the most extraordinary men of a period in which so many extraordinary men appeared"; and the first consul speaks of him as "that black whom the nation (France) counts among her most illustrious children, on account of the services he has rendered, the talents and the force of character with which nature has endowed him." He also calls him "one of the chief citizens of the greatest nation in the world." When eventually Toussaint L'Ouverture was betrayed into his hands by the French general Leclerc, a well-known French writer, Victor Schoelcher, exclaims: "Undoubtedly the White was lower than the Negro."

And how much below the Negro who has shown that he knew how to be magnanimous and generous in victory, did Napoleon the Great fall when he forgot the first consul's eulogistic praise and ordered this illustrious Negro who had trusted him to be thrown into a damp dark dungeon and starved to death!

When the British routed the combined armies of France and America at Savannah in 1779 it was Viscount de Fontanges' legion of 800 black soldiers, recruited from the colored militia of San Domingo, that saved the situation and prevented the annihilation of the French and American forces. This famous charge has been called "the most brilliant feat of the day and the bravest ever performed by foreign troops in America's cause." Particulars of it were given to the United States Minister in Paris in 1849, and are now to be found in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Colored soldiers, who were not cordially enlisted at first, even by Washington, won their spurs during the Revolutionary struggles. Bancroft speaks of the colored troops who fought in the battle of Monmouth in 1788, in these terms: "Nor may history omit to record that, of the Revolutionary patriots who on that day perilled life for their country, more than 700 black Americans fought side by side with the whites." Commodore Perry's men on Lake Erie were colored, and he declared that he never saw better fighters. In the battle of New Orleans there were 3,300 blacks with Jackson, and in the Civil War 187,000 were enrolled among the Federal troops, and fought bravely in many battles. This record shows that the Negro is not to be despised as a soldier, and that he is prepared to shed his blood freely for his country. That the Negro proves a good fighting man is not surprising. In Africa many native tribes are renowned for their courage and skill in war. The onslaught of the Zulus was formidable even to trained European troops, provided with the murderous modern engines of war, and princes, officers, and men fell to their deadly assegais. It is worth noting that Sir Frederick Lugard's force of native Nigerian soldiers, trained by himself or his little handful of white officials, proved admirable soldiers. It was said of them in 1904 that, so far, this force had proved as invincible as Clive's best levies.

To fight for one's country is often lauded as the last and highest offering of patriotism; it is, in reality the first and earliest tribute of the man to tribal supremacy, and a tribute that is not only cheerfully but gladly paid, the animal instincts delighting in exercises of warlike skill against both man and beast to an even greater extent than one finds at the present day in the ardent sportsman and hunter. It seems rather out of date to emphasize over much in the twentieth century the importance of the war tribute in the history of civilization; yet, if this is done, as it often is, the Negro does not fall behind in paying that tribute. His blood has flowed at the bidding of his country as freely as that of his white fellow countrymen, and of the Negro it may be said, in a double sense, that his blood has watered the land, as a soldier and as a slave bleeding under the lash of the task master (like the pyramid builders of old), laying the foundations of American industrial supremacy.

The philosophic mind dwells with far more satisfaction on the proofs that may be adduced of the Negro's faithfulness to duty than on his fighting qualities, undoubted though these may be. A fine instance is recorded in 1766 when an order was made to throw into the sea a certain kind of flour which was supposed to aid in the dissemination of a specially fatal tertian ague at Port au Prince. Sixty barrels were thrown into the sea. Of that number seven belonged to Lambert, a free Negro, who was the only man to come of his own accord and offer his flour to the authorities for destruction.

The chivalrous devotion of the house servants to their masters' families and care of their property during the Civil War, when they were the

only men left on the estates for cultivation of the land and defence of the ladies and children, is beyond all praise, and future generations will not fail to appreciate it at its full worth.

Brigadier-General Andrew S. Burt, U. S. A. (retired), delivered a brilliant lecture upon "The Negro as a Soldier," which was reprinted in the *Crisis*. It follows:

We have in our regular army four regiments of colored soldiers, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry. The two cavalry regiments have fine records in campaigns on our Western frontier, in the old days of Indian warfare. These troopers also have splendid records made in Cuba and the Philippines. To-day there are no finer horsemen who carry sabres and carbines than the Negro soldiers. Indeed, it is whispered abroad that the Tenth Regiment arrived on the field of Santiago in the nick of time to save a much heralded cavalry command from being wiped out or otherwise rough-riden by the Spanish forces. That kindly help by the Negro troopers has not, to my knowledge, been bruited about with any very loud acclaim. Gratitude is a fickle jade. "Where self the wavering balance shakes 'tis rarely right adjusted," says Bobby Burns.

The Twenty-fourth Infantry has likewise made an enviable record in Indian warfare, in Cuba and in the Philippines, not only for its fighting, but as well for its law-abiding conduct wherever it has served in this country and in foreign lands. In addition, this Negro Regiment has the privilege of painting on her battle flag, in letters of gold, a record for a deed of magnificent moral courage and great-hearted humanity. In Cuba, after the battle of Santiago, the yellow fever broke out among our white troops. Quarantine hospital camps were established for patients stricken down with the dread disease. Some weeks had elapsed when the colonel commanding the Twenty-fourth Regiment received an order to detail sixty men from his command to replace the regular Hospital Corps nurses who had been attacked by yellow fever, and a number of whom had died of this sickness.

The colonel, recognizing the peculiar work to be performed by his men who would go to the yellow fever camps, ordered out his regiment in line, and said to them: "Soldiers of the Twenty-fourth, I want sixty volunteers to help nurse your white comrades who are suffering with yellow fever."

He commanded: "Volunteers, three paces to the front! March!"

Every man of that line stepped to the front!

But, wait! Mark well the sequel to such Christian heroism. It was only a short time before word came to the colonel that half of his men who had volunteered to nurse their white comrades had been taken down with yellow fever. A number of them had died of that terrible disease, and thirty more nurses were wanted to take their places. Again



the colonel called out his black soldiers in line. He told them what had happened, and again he commanded, "Volunteers, three paces to the front! March!" And again every man of that line stepped to the front.

I was captain of an infantry company in the Civil War. That ought to make me a good judge of a marching column, and I say I never saw better marchers than my Twenty-fifth United States Infantry Negro soldiers. I dwell on this matter, for on the legs of his men many a general has depended for a victorious campaign.

The Twenty-fifth Regimental headquarters, four companies, and the band were stationed for more than ten years at Fort Missoula, Mont., near the city of that name. One day I asked the Democratic Mayor of that city how my men behaved in his bailiwick. He replied: "Why, colonel, there isn't any class of citizens here more orderly and peaceful. The Police Court records will prove my assertion."

When the regiment was ordered to the front in '98, the ministers of every denomination in Missoula joined in an open letter commending the men for their good behavior.

The Twenty-fifth Infantry has made a record for fighting at El Caney, in Cuba, at Mt. Aryat, O'Donnell, and in numerous skirmishes in the Philippines. Speaking of the Negro soldier generally, I can find nowhere in the histories of the Revolutionary War, the Indian Wars, Spanish-American War, or in the Philippines, a single instance where a Negro regiment showed the white feather or refused to charge the enemy when called on to do so.

You will recall Gen. Grant's testimony before the Congressional committee on the conduct of the war of the rebellion. He said in part: "If the black troops had been properly supported by the white troops at the springing of the mines at Petersburg, that day we would have gone into Richmond."

The Negro soldiers were the only ones to charge into and out of that hell-hole. Just keep that in your minds.

Bancroft says of Bunker Hill: "Nor should history forget that as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, free Negroes of the colony had their representatives." You all, no doubt, are familiar with the names of Peter Salem and Salem Poor, and their gallant records.

The following account is taken from Arnold's history of the Battle of Rhode Island: "At last the foot columns of the enemy massed and swept down the slopes of Anthony's Hill, with the impetuosity of a whirlwind, but they were received by the American troops with the courage and calmness of veterans. The loss on both sides was fearful. It was in repelling these furious onsets that the newly raised black regiment, under Col. Greene, distinguished itself by deeds of desperate valor."

Let me call your attention to a trait of the Negro soldier: his devotion and loyalty to his leader. On May 14, 1780, Col. Greene, the gallant leader of this regiment, was surprised and murdered at Point Bridges,

New York. He had a very small bodyguard with him at the time, composed of his faithful black soldiers. These men could have fled from an overwhelming force and saved their lives, but surrounding their colonel they defended him gallantly and he was not killed until the last man was cut to pieces.

Baron von Clausen, a German army officer, who visited this country during the Revolutionary War, said, among other things, in describing his visit to Gen. Washington's camp, that of the 20,000 soldiers there, 5,000 were Negroes, and that the best-drilled and disciplined regiment was Col. Greene's Rhode Island regiment, three-fourths of which was composed of Negroes.

Time will not permit me to dwell in detail upon the Negro's military service in the War of 1812. Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, and Gen. Jackson at New Orleans have testified in signed communications to the War and Navy Departments of their unflinching courage. Jackson's victory at New Orleans, which carried him to fame and the White House, he owed largely to the desperate valor of the black regiments under him. I wonder if you grasp the significance of all that? Why, look at it! Jackson, the great apostle of democracy, was boosted up the ladder of fame by the faithful, patriotic, fighting black man. Does not that seem to be the limit of the irony of fate?

In the Civil War 187,000 Negroes were enlisted. They participated in 213 battles and engagements, and never permitted the Union colors to be dishonored by cowardice or treachery. Their brilliant achievements at Forts Wagner and Olustee, Fort Hudson, and Milliken's Bend, made them welcome into the flower of the Union army—the army of the Potomac in the closing months of those bloody conflicts in front of Richmond and Petersburg. In the battles of Wilson's Wharf, Deep Bottom, Chapeirs Farm, and Hatchers Run, they won for themselves immortal glory!

Let me relate to you one instance in this war, equal in sublimity to the martial deeds of any age. It is worthy of Homer, for nothing at the siege of Troy surpasses it in valor.

After the black troops had made a third unsuccessful assault to carry the heights of Port Hudson, and had left hundreds of their dead and dying comrades under the very guns of the enemy, Gen. Payne, a Union officer, fell, seriously wounded, about three hundred yards in front of the Union entrenchments. With great exertion he had managed to crawl to a point behind rock and bushes which concealed his body from the view of the Confederate rifles in the pits on the slope of the hill. How to get him back to the Union lines was the problem confronting the Union officers. To leave him there much longer without surgical aid was almost certain death. To send a rescuing party under orders meant almost certain death to every man in it, as the ground over which they would be compelled to pass was swept by a regiment of guns.

In this extremity the matter was put before the Negro troops, and two volunteers were called for to make the attempt to get the general.

Instantly two men stepped forward and started on a run for the officer, who lay insensible from fatigue and loss of blood. One of them fell shot to pieces after having gone a few paces. The other fell before he had covered half the distance.

The fate of these two men was met by two others who volunteered without hesitation. Two more, undeterred by the fate of their comrades, which they had witnessed with thousands of others on both sides of the lines, stepped forward and went to death, and this appalling sacrifice of life was kept up until the general's body was finally reached and brought back into the lines, while a thousand guns were thundering and bullets were singing their death song, carrying eighteen of the bravest men who ever lived into the final muster out.

So profoundly impressed was Gen. Lee with the invincible military qualities of the Negro soldiers that in a letter which he wrote to Jefferson Davis, urging the passage of a bill authorizing their enlistment, then under debate in the Confederate Congress, he said: "If I can get these men, there is no telling where this campaign will end."

As far back as the days of Alexander the Great we find black men exerting high military command. Clitus, a black soldier, led Alexander's cavalry and saved the day on more than one occasion by his forced marches and genius for command. Rome was made to tremble at the dreaded name of the great Carthaginian captain. Menelek's army, led entirely by black men on the plains of Addis-Abeba, annihilated an Italian army of 30,000 men, taking 1,000 prisoners of war. Cetewayo, the indomitable Zulu chief, measured arms with the ablest English commanders, and although his military resources were antiquated, he was never conquered. In Brazil, a full-blooded Negro, Henry Diaz, wrested his country from the iron grip of the Dutch. Maceo in Cuba, David Thomas Dumas in France, division general under the First Napoleon, and Gen. Alfred Dodds, to-day the idol of the French army, refute the charge that Negroes lack military capacity to lead.

In our own country much of the desperate fighting at Port Hudson was done by those Negro soldiers, under the leadership of Negro officers in those regiments recruited in Louisiana, which became popularly known as the Corps D'Afrique. In the Cuban campaign, many of the companies of Negro soldiers were led by Negro non-commissioned officers, and there is no doubt that, among the 300 Negro officers of volunteers commissioned during the war with Spain, there were men who would have measured up well in an emergency.

The story of Diaz's organization of a black regiment, officered entirely by men of his own race, his brilliant campaigns against the Dutch, make one of the important chapters in the history of the western hemisphere, for this man emancipated his country from the hard hand of a stubborn, masterful race, and his countrymen have deservedly placed him in the class with Bolivar, Washington, and L'Ouverture, the great liberators and founders of states in the western world.

In conclusion, I take pride in naming to you the greatest soldier, white or black, in ancient or modern wars—the Negro Hannibal. Field Marshal Von Moltke, of the German army, the eminent military critic, says: “Hannibal is the greatest military genius in history.” I will not detain you by going into details of how Hannibal landed his little army of 37,000 Carthaginians in the heart of the Roman Empire and battled successfully for seventeen long years with the veteran legions of Rome. I will sum it all up in these words:

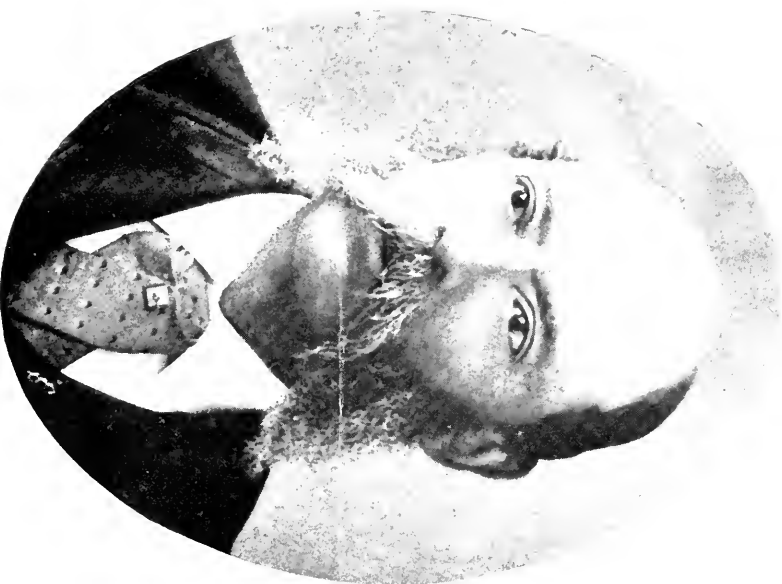
“When Hannibal flashed his sword from its scabbard, the boundaries of the broad empire of Rome oscillated on the map. He was the Archangel of War.”

#### CONCLUSION.

Two colored soldiers received the V. C. (Victoria Cross) from Queen Victoria.

William Wells Brown, in his article on the “Visit of a Fugitive Slave to the Grave of Wilberforce,” in the “Autographs of Freedom,” tells of beholding the famous monument to Admiral Nelson, England’s naval hero. He says:

I perceived among the figures (which were as large as life) a full-blooded African, with as white a set of teeth as ever I had seen, and all the other peculiarities of feature that distinguish that race from the rest of the human family, with musket in hand, and a dejected countenance, which told that he had been in the heat of the battle, and shared with the other soldiers the pain in the loss of their commander. . . . Here was the Negro, as black a man as was ever imported from the coast of Africa, represented in his proper place by the side of Lord Nelson, on one of England’s proudest monuments.



GEORGE A. LATIMER

(Courtesy of Mrs. Cora Hawley Schuster)

George A. Latimer was the famous fugitive slave who was immortalized in Whittier's poem "From Massachusetts to Virginia." He applied for the writ of *habeas corpus* and brought counter suit against his master. Mass meetings in his behalf were held throughout Massachusetts, petitions were sent to Con-



MRS. AUGUSTA MAUDIE HAWLEY OVERTON

of San Jose, Cal. (a descendant of Nero Hawley, a colored Revolutionary soldier, and a granddaughter of George A. Latimer, whose petition caused Massachusetts to pass the Personal



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### *Some Colored History-Makers During the Revolutionary and Anti-Slavery Days—Introduction of American Slaves.*

Slaves were first brought into America when a Dutch trader steamed up the James River in Virginia in 1619.

Slaves were first brought into New England in 1638 when a vessel went from Salem, Mass., to New Province and brought back a cargo of cotton, salt, tobacco and Negro slaves. Salem and Newburyport were the distributing points of the slave trade in the North in those days, and the Rev. James A. Hill, D.D., a preacher, litterateur, real estate owner and philanthropist, says the *Mayflower* landed more slaves in Salem than she did Pilgrims in Plymouth. Portland, Boston and New York were also Northern cities whence cargoes of slaves were sent into the South in the early days.

Finot, in his "Race Prejudice," on pages 305 and 306, says:

The historians, it is true, mention certain transportations of slaves brought there (in the United States) before 1650, but the number of these "immigrants" was very small and never exceeded from two to three hundred.

The period of the forced immigration of the blacks into North America begins in 1672 with the activity of the African Royal Company. According to Bancroft, the number of slaves rose in 1754 to 293,000. Forty years later it exceeded 700,000. At the time of the enfranchisement of the Negroes in 1863 it was already four and one-half millions.

Between 1790 and 1860 the Negro population had mounted up from 757,000 to 4,450,000, that is to say it became six times greater in seventy years. Between 1860 and 1900 the Negroes increased from four million and a half to nine million (in round numbers), in other words they doubled in forty years.

About this time several authors mention scandalous captures, by English cruisers, of slave ships belonging to American citizens. "In the space of a year and a half, 1859-1860," says DuBois, "eighty-five slave ships were armed at New York, and these ships alone transported in a year from 30,000 to 60,000 slaves." In 1858 twenty-one Negro slave ships were seized by English cruisers.

"Moreover," says Finot, "the geographical origins of the American Negroes are varied, slaves were obtained from the Congo, the Gambia, the Niger, Zanzibar, Central Africa, as well as from Guinea and the Gold Coast. They arrived from everywhere. Among them were the Nigritos of Soudan, the Bantus from southern equatorial Africa and the Guineans with their subdivisions, including the Kroo, Grebo and Bassa, etc."

The Negroes of Jamaica were enfranchised in 1838. In twenty years they became industrious and in 1905 the 610,000 Negroes of that island formed an honest, hard-working population.

On page 292 of his "Race Prejudice," Finot says:

The first school for Negroes was founded at New York in 1704, by a Frenchman, Elias Dean. He brought together, with the permission of slave masters, at the cost of great personal efforts, about 200 children. Dean taught for nothing, regarding duty done to these unfortunate children as its own reward. The example given by this noble Frenchman was afterwards followed in the Northern States by many beneficent societies. In the South the hostile feelings directed against the education of the Negroes persisted up to the time of the war of secession. . . . It is thus that in Carolina alone there were in 1874, two hundred Negro judges who did not know how to read or write. The same fact applies to the members of the School Commission, who, illiterate as they were, presided over the destinies of the schools. . . .

The instruction of the blacks only began with the war of liberation. Under the supervision of Northern officials, schools were founded where Negroes might receive primary instruction. They were military schools of a special kind, giving lessons in citizenship instead of superior instruction in the art of killing one's neighbors. In the space of a year, 1863-1864, General Banks succeeded in establishing in Louisiana ninety-five schools, with 162 masters and 9,571 pupils. Gen. Howard states in his report of January 1, 1866, that there were already in the South 740 schools, with more than 1,300 masters and 90,500 pupils.

It will surprise most people, says a newspaper clipping, that the census showed seventeen slaves in Vermont as late as 1860. There were sixteen according to the census of 1790. This has been discovered to be an error in the manuscript entries which should have been under the head of "Free Colored." Massachusetts and Maine are the only New England states in which the censuses show no slaves. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts decided that slavery had been abolished in the state by the adop-



tion of the Constitution of 1780, and Maine was then part of Massachusetts. The census of 1790 showed the number of slaves in each state to be:

DISTRICT	SLAVES
Maine .....	None
Vermont .....	16
New Hampshire .....	158
Massachusetts .....	None
Rhode Island .....	948
Connecticut .....	1,764
New York .....	21,324
New Jersey .....	11,423
Pennsylvania .....	3,737
Delaware .....	8,837
Maryland .....	103,036
Virginia .....	292,627
Kentucky .....	12,430
North Carolina .....	100,572
South Carolina .....	107,094
Georgia .....	29,264

Total number of slave inhabitants of the United States  
exclusive of southwestern and northern territory ..... 693,230

As the total population was 3,803,635, the slaves were something over one-fifth of the whole.

Pennsylvania provided for gradual emancipation and had sixty-five slaves in 1840. At the same census Rhode Island had five, and Connecticut seventeen.

New York passed a general emancipation act to take effect July 4, 1827, ten years after passage. New Jersey had 236 slaves living in 1850.

#### AN EPITOME OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The best brief account of American slavery is found in Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's "National Ideals Historically Traced." On page 50 and the following pages of that book Professor Hart says:

Several African races were represented: the intensely black Guinea Negro of the west coast, the brown people of the north and captives from the fierce Negroes of the interior, brought down to the coast in the fearful slave caravans (see Ripley's "Races of Europe," pages 277-280). . . . Tobacco made a profitable use for crude laborers. By 1700

slavery was rooted in the South and existed in all of the colonies. Later slaves were used for rice and cotton. . . . First carried to the Virginia and Carolina coast, the slaves were soon taken into the Piedmont, but could not be made available among the mountains. . . . Hence an organized propaganda against every form of slavery, first through abolition societies and then through State constitutions and emancipation laws, by which, between 1777 and 1804, the eight States north of Maryland all abolished slavery, or put it in process of extinction. . . . Jefferson protested against slavery, Washington and Jefferson expected to see it abolished.

Thus we see that the founders of the Republic said that chattel slavery was a menace to the country, and had it not been for the invention of the cotton gin, slavery would have died out in the South as it did in the North.

#### SOME COLORED MAKERS OF HISTORY DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY AND ANTI-SLAVERY DAYS.

Phyllis Wheatley, Benjamin Banneker, John Russwurm, Lemuel Haynes, Derham, Remond and LeGrasse were the first American Negroes to lift their heads above the waters of the doctrine of race inferiority. And I suppose that Richard Allen, Richard Varrick, Bishop Daniel Payne, Bishop James Walker Hood and Bishop Lane are the heroes in the battle for the ecclesiastical freedom of the Negro. Phyllis Wheatley was a colored poetess, whose poems were commended by George Washington, while Banneker was an astronomer and almanac publisher who won the esteem and regard of Thomas Jefferson. It is the tendency nowadays to underrate Phyllis Wheatley, but Julian W. Abernethy, in his "American Literature," pays this tribute to her poetic genius:

The poems of the Negro girl, Phyllis Wheatley, published in London in 1773, afford one of the most singular cases of precocity known to literature. They rank with the best of the American echoes of the English classicists, and there can be no doubt of their genuineness, since the early editions contain the testimony of estimable people of Boston to the fact that they were written by Phyllis, a young Negro girl, who was but a few years since brought an uncultivated barbarian from Africa.

Phyllis Wheatley was a slave girl, brought from Africa, who was afterwards emancipated by her mistress, and was unhappily married. She read Latin fluently and translated one of Ovid's stories, which was published in English magazines. She read and

recited her poems in the best American homes. Here is a sample of her poetry:

'Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land;  
Taught my benighted soul to understand  
That there's a God,—that there's a Saviour too.  
Once, I redemption neither sought nor knew.

Professor Daniel B. Williams wrote of Banneker:

Although he enjoyed the meagre advantage of an obscure second-class school, by constant assiduity, he prepared almanacs for 1792, 3, 4, 5, which exhibited the different aspects of the planets, a table of the motions of the heavenly bodies and other astronomical data. Banneker sent one of his almanacs to Thomas Jefferson, who was then President of the United States. Mr. Jefferson presented it to The Academy of Science at Paris. Lafayette, Brissot, Gregoire, and others again and again referred to Banneker, to demonstrate the intellectual equality of the races, and Pitt, Wilberforce, and Buxton, in the British House of Commons, often did the same thing.

Professor Williams also says that in 1770 Banneker invented the first clock that was made in the United States, but did not get the credit for it.

Rev. Lemuel Haynes, born in Hartford, Conn., in 1753, locating as a preacher in West Rutland, Vt., in 1788, published a remarkable sermon from Genesis 3 and 4; had a controversy with Hosea Ballou that attracted attention, and in 1804 received the honorary degree of A.M. from Middlebury College.

Dr. James Derham was almost as famous as Wheatley and Banneker. Born a slave in 1762, he was bought and afterwards emancipated by Dr. Robert Love of New Orleans. He was able to speak the English, French and Spanish languages fluently, and before he was thirty years old had a practice, as a physician, in New Orleans, worth at least \$3,000 a year. Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, in the *American Museum* for 1789, says Derham then was only twenty-seven years of age. Dr. Rush says he conversed with him upon most of the acute and epidemic diseases of the country where he lived, and expected to suggest some new medicines to him. "But," says Dr. Rush, "he suggested many more to me. He is very modest and engaging in his manners. He speaks French fluently, and has some knowledge of the Spanish."

Thomas Fuller, the Negro mathematician, familiarly known as the "Virginia Calculator," was a native of Africa. George W. Williams, in his "History of the Negro Race in America," on pages 399 and 400, quoting extensively from white newspaper accounts of him at the time of his death, says he was the property of Mrs. Elizabeth Cox of Alexandria. He was brought to this country at the age of fourteen, and sold as a slave with many of his unfortunate countrymen. This man was a prodigy. Though he could neither read nor write, he had perfectly acquired the use of enumeration. He could give the number of months, days, weeks, hours, minutes and seconds for any period of time that a person chose to mention, allowing in his calculations for all the leap years that happened in the time. He would give the number of poles, yards, feet, inches and barleycorns in a given distance—say the diameter of the earth's orbit—and in every calculation he would produce the true answer in less time than ninety-nine out of a hundred would take with their pens. Though interrupted, he would continue calculations where they were left off.

George W. Horton was a slave poet of Chatham County, North Carolina. Although a field hand, his genius "soared on wings of ecstasy." Some of his poems were printed in the *Raleigh Register*.

Here are some lines which were published in the *Raleigh Register*.

Come, melting pity from afar,  
And break this vast enormous bar  
Between a wretch and thee.  
Purchase a few short days of time:  
And bid a vassal soar sublime  
On wings of Liberty.

In 1829, A. W. Gates published the poems in book form.

Mrs. Frances Ellen Watkins, a Maryland slave, afterwards became an anti-slavery lecturer in the Eastern states, and she wrote a book entitled "Poems and Miscellaneous Writings." I believe that Johnson, in his history, quotes one of her excellent poems.

Now we come to a story that reads like the tales of Aladdin's lamp. Greek slaves taught the sons of wealthy Romans, and in

North Carolina, Rev. John Chavers, a learned and scholarly Presbyterian divine, who came to America in 1822, preached and taught the children of prominent white people in Fayetteville and in Franklin, Ware and Chatham counties, North Carolina. Some of his pupils afterwards became famous. Among them were Hon. Kenneth Rayner, lawyer, Congressman and solicitor-general of the United States Treasury during Arthur's administration; Thomas I. Curtis, mayor of Fayetteville, and Hon. Abram Renchers, an educator and eminent man in those days.

Russworm of Dartmouth and Ira Aldridge, the tragedian, were also Negro pioneers in the intellectual world.

I have spoken in an earlier chapter of my meeting Crummell and Downing. Downing never tired of talking of Dr. John V. DeGrasse, who was admitted to the Massachusetts Medical Society on August 24, 1854, and who, between the years 1850 and 1860, was regarded as the most cultured and accomplished Negro in the world. He was the first Negro physician to be admitted to a medical society in America. He studied in Oneida Institute, of which the heroic Beriah Green was principal. He attended lectures in Bowdoin College between 1847 and 1849, and attracted attention by his brilliancy as a scholar. Then he traveled in England, France, Italy and Switzerland, studied for two years in a college in France, and spent a year in a hospital in Paris. The *Boston Journal*, in August, 1854, spoke in the highest terms of DeGrasse.

Of all the colored pioneers in the intellectual world, in the post-Revolutionary and the ante-bellum days, I believe that DeGrasse was the most accomplished. Part of the prominence that was given to Wheatley, Banneker, Derham, Fuller, Horton, Watkins and Chavers was due to the fact that they were exceptionally smart for colored persons. Had they been white, they would not have attracted an unusual amount of attention. But in DeGrasse we see an eminent colored physician, a polished and refined gentleman, whose culture had been ripened by studies in France and travels in Europe. Not necessarily more gifted than those mentioned, he had the advantages which university training and foreign travels give a man. He was the prototype of Alexander Crummell and E. D. Bassett, two accomplished scholars of later days.

Now for those colored men who struggled for their rights and the freedom of their race, not by violent and revolutionary methods, but by argument, agitation and discussion. On February 10, 1770, and April 22, 1770, John Cuffe and Paul Cuffe, in Dartmouth, Mass., petitioned to be released from taxation, as they had no vote or influence in the election of those who taxed them. They desired to be released from poll tax and tax on estates. Thus we see colored men asking the Americans to put into practice their pet doctrine of no taxation without representation.

In the fifty years preceding the Civil War the Northern Negroes were discriminated against as the Southern Negroes are now. The Northern Negro was forced to sit on the top of the stage coach. There were separate street cars reserved for him, labeled "This car for Colored People." On the railroad the colored man was escorted to the Jim Crow car or smoker. Colored people were barred from the inns and hotels. More than once, Douglass slept on the ground all night, or walked the streets, with no house or home to shelter him. Servants, however, were granted the privilege of sleeping in the garret or eating in the kitchen. Colored men were excluded from the theatres. E. G. Walker once had to knock two or three down who attempted to eject him from the theatre after he had purchased his ticket. It was regarded as quite an achievement when Downing and his daughter, in the early seventies, occupied a box in a Washington theatre. The Negroes were shut out from the privileges of voting, of sitting on juries and serving in the state militia. The sentiment in the North was more inimical to the education of the Negro than it is in the South, to-day. The people in Canterbury, Conn., bombarded and broke up Miss Prudence Crandall's school for colored girls. The farmers in Canaan, N. H., hitched ninety yoke of oxen to the schoolhouse that Crummell and Garnett attended and dragged it to the middle of a swamp. Beriah Green's Oneida Institute, Oneida County, New York, was one of the few schools up North where colored youth were permitted unmolested to get an education. The decision of Justice Taney, in 1850, regarding the fugitive slave, Dred Scott, that the Negro had no rights that the white men were bound to respect and the passage of the fugitive slave

law, giving the master power and authority to cross Mason and Dixon's line and recapture the fugitive slaves, aroused the colored and white abolitionists of New England, so that they attempted to rescue Burns, Shadrick and Simms. They battered down the door with a joist sleeper from the building, or with a tree trunk, in the vain attempt to rescue Burns, vainly tried to rescue Simms out of a window, and succeeded in rescuing Shadrick out of the court room in broad daylight.

But what did the colored people do to help themselves? They rescued Shadrick in broad daylight and assisted the white abolitionists in all their plans. Before Garrison started his *Liberator*, the Massachusetts General Colored anti-Slavery Association was organized. James G. Barbadoes, Coffin Pitts, John E. Scarlett, Hosea and Joshua Easton, William C. Nell, Thomas Cole, Thomas Dalton, Frederick Brinbley, Walker Lewis and John T. Hilton were the leading spirits. In January, 1833, they sent a communication to the New England anti-Slavery Society, which would not fellowship with them at first, and this communication was signed by Thomas Dalton, president; William C. Nell, vice president; and James C. Barbadoes, secretary. The white anti-slavery convention met in 1836. But Rev. Mr. Poker of Baltimore, Md., in 1810 wrote an anti-slavery tract in the form of a dialogue. Walker issued his appeal in 1827. But Garrison did not publish the *Liberator* until 1831. Thus we see that the colored men were the first in the field, both as agitators and anti-slavery writers. The anti-slavery free women organized in 1837. The colored women organized an anti-slavery society in 1831, thus being in the field six years before their white sisters. Then, too, Jacob Moore's tailor shop in Spring Lane, Boston, and Peter Howard's barber shop, Irving and Cambridge streets, were used to secrete fugitive slaves. White and colored abolitionists visited these places. The Fortens of Philadelphia were a remarkable set of people. James Forten was a leader of the colored abolitionists of Philadelphia. Robert Forten was a poet, orator and mathematician. He ground and set his own lens and constructed a nine-foot telescope. It was approved and put on exhibition by the Franklin Society of Philadelphia. He was a recruiting officer under General Barney and raised troops on the eastern shores of Maryland and Virginia. Congressman Kelley of Pennsylvania

made a magnificent allusion to him on the floor of Congress. He was the father of Mrs. F. J. Grimke. Miss Sara Forten sent verses to the white women abolitionists, while James Forten, the father of Robert Forten, sent fifty dollars to Garrison, being among the first twenty-five who sent subscriptions to the *Liberator*, and also at another time loaned him a substantial sum of money when the *Liberator* was in pecuniary difficulties, thus showing that colored men had the means and willingness to back their ideas with cash when the emergency required it.

In 1860 a kid glove mob broke up the anniversary meeting of John Brown's death, which was held in Tremont Temple. Then it was held in Joy Street Church, J. Seller Martin, pastor; a mob gathered outside to attack Wendell Phillips. Mark R. DeMortie, Charles Lenox, George T. Downing, T. B. Taylor and other colored men assisted Phillips to escape by a side door to a three-foot alley that led to Russell Street.

Of the colored anti-slavery orators, Charles Lenox Remond, William Wells Brown, William C. Nell and Frederick C. Barbadoes of Boston; David Ruggles and Phillip A. Bell of New York; Robert Purvis of Philadelphia, and John B. Vashan of western Pennsylvania were very effective in getting up meetings, while Frederick Douglass, Samuel Ringgold Ward, McCune Smith, James W. C. Pennington, Henry Highland, Garnett and Alexander Crummell, were very eloquent on the platform. Remond was the most conspicuous colored orator before Douglass took the field in 1842. He was more polished but not as massive, majestic and magnetic as Douglass.

Colored abolitionists were not content to merely talk. They wrote books also. Bishop Loguen wrote "As a Slave Freeman"; Frederick Douglass, "My Bondage and My Freedom"; Samuel Ringgold Ward, "The Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave"; in 1855, Rev. Austin Stewart, "Twenty-two Years a Slave and Forty Years a Freeman." Solomon Northrop wrote a narrative in the early abolition days.

Later, W. C. Nell wrote "The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution." William Wells Brown wrote "The Black Man," "The Rising Son," and "The Negro in the Rebellion." William Still wrote "The Underground Railroad," in the early anti-slavery days. William Whipper edited an abolition paper,



known as the *National Reformer*. J. T. Shufton, in 1865, published the *Colored American* in Augusta, Ga., which was the first colored newspaper published in the South. Of these, Nell, Brown and Still were able writers, and Purvis's "Pennsylvania Appeals" was almost as famous as "Cuffe's Petition" and "Walker's Appeal." W. C. Nell was assistant accountant in the publication office of the *Liberator*, of which Robert F. Walcott was accountant. Nell was also responsible for the passage of the Equal Rights School bill. William Stock, a member of the legislature, is authority for this statement.

Some people are not aware that colored abolitionists played a very prominent part in the anti-slavery movement. Among the many colored men of Boston, New Bedford, Brooklyn, New York and Philadelphia, who were associated with the anti-slavery movement, such as Charles L. Remond, Charles Reason, McCune Smith, Lewis Hayden, John J. Smith, M. R. DeMortie, James Barbadoes, William Wells Brown, William C. Nell and William Burr of Norwich, three impressed the North as being remarkable colored men.

I refer to Robert Purvis, president of the Underground Railroad Society, president of the Pennsylvania anti-Slavery Society, and vice president of the anti-Slavery Society, who was as handsome in person, as gracious in his bearing, as courteous in his manners, and as noble in spirit as the chivalric George William Curtis; to George T. Downing, whose physical strength and splendid courage, whose gift for business and aristocratic spirit endeared him to Charles Sumner, and to Samuel Ringgold Ward, author of "An Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave," a giant in ebony, whose logical mind, gift of speech and titanic personality would have made him a dangerous rival for Frederick Douglass had he not left this country in 1851.

Professor Charles H. Reason and Dr. James McCune Smith were among the first colored men in America to grapple with philosophical problems and delve into the mysteries and subtleties of metaphysics. Professor Reason was probably the first colored man in America to demonstrate that the Negro intellect can move at ease in the realm of philosophy. He was also a talented poet. Dr. McCune Smith and Dr. Martin R. Delaney, author of "Principia of Ethnology, the Origins of Races and

Color," showed in the ante-bellum days that the Negro could excel as a physician. Dr. McCune Smith of New York or Philadelphia was an especially gifted man. DeLaney served in the Civil War and came out of the war with the rank of major. There was another New Yorker quite prominent in those days, and that was Thomas B. Downing, the father of George T. Downing of Newport, who was a famous oyster digger and gatherer seventy years ago, and who shipped oysters occasionally to Queen Victoria and titled Englishmen. He was proprietor of a first-class restaurant on Wall Street. He was a brave, brainy and brawny Negro, a born autocrat. His son, George T. Downing, afterwards had charge of the House Restaurant in Washington. Rev. Leonard A. Grimes of Boston, Hartford and New Haven was a bold colored abolitionist. Lewis B. Hayden and John J. Smith of Boston assisted in rescuing fugitive slaves who were to be returned to the South. The father of Hon. John F. Cook of Washington, D. C., was very prominent in those early abolition days, seventy years ago.

#### SIDE FLASHES ON ANTE-BELLUM HISTORY.

William T. Alexander, in his "History of the Colored Race in America," on page 212, says:

The surrender of Anthony Burns, probably excited more feeling than any alleged fugitive, in that it attained unusual publicity, and took place in New England, after the North had begun to feel the first throbs of the profound agitation excited by the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise, in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. On the 2d of June, 1854, the repudiation of the Missouri Compact, having been consummated in the passage and Presidential approval of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Anthony Burns, having been adjudged a fugitive at Boston, President Pierce ordered the United States Cutter, *Morris*, to take him from that city, to life-long bondage.

Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns were returned South by the state and city authorities. In Syracuse, N. Y., Jerry Logren, an alleged fugitive, was taken from the hands of the authorities and forwarded to Canada. In the year 1851, Dred Scott, an African, began suit in a local court in St. Louis to recover his and his family's freedom from slavery. The ground of his claim was that his master carried him and his family to live in Wisconsin,

Rock Island and Fort Snelling, Ill., free states, and hence he claimed that he and his family were entitled to freedom. The local court of Missouri declared Dred Scott and his family free; but the Supreme Court of the United States on March 6, 1857, declared him a slave. It was then that Chief Justice Taney made the infamous declaration that the Negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.

I regard John Brown as the most heroic figure the world has seen since the days of the Apostle Paul. He had a constructive mind, but was rather rash and impetuous, and brought on the Civil War by inflaming the South by his raid upon Harpers Ferry. In him was incarnated the aggressive courage and humanitarian instinct of the Anglo-Saxons. He was a man of action rather than a man of thought. He was not a great talker; but a mighty doer of deeds. There was method in his plan, but he made the mistake of tarrying in Harpers Ferry too long, explaining to the people his plans and purposes. He should have immediately moved to the mountains with the weapons and prisoners he had seized.

Many amusing incidents are told of these times. Once Rev. Leonard Grimes while walking down the street met three bullies. They said with a sneer, "We do not get out of the way for niggers." He stepped gracefully to one side, bowed politely and said with a pleasant smile and bland voice, "I do." This same Grimes hunted a fugitive slave catcher with a club. Lewis Hayden and John J. Smith were driving away through the country with Shadrick, who had been rescued by Andrew J. Burton, Cornelius Sparrow, Mrs. Emery, Mrs. Hatten, Mrs. Turner and other colored abolitionists from the court room in broad daylight. One of them held the reins and the other was on the lookout for foes from the front, with a gun. They placed the fugitive slave with a gun in the rear of the wagon to be on the lookout, but when they looked around they found him fast asleep, seemingly oblivious of the fact that a price was upon his head. Once the mob hissed Douglass and would not listen to him, claiming that he was half white and only half a nigger. Suddenly the big, burly, brawny black orator Ward sprang to the platform, struck a defiant attitude and said, "Am I black enough?" The audience saw the humour of the situation, was convulsed with laughter, and permitted Douglass to proceed.

In 1854 the Columbia Guards, under Captain Cass, dispersed the abolitionists who held an indignation meeting in Faneuil Hall to protest against the return of Anthony Burns to slavery.

It is well known that at the beginning of the war many of the abolitionists doubted whether the Negro would stand fire. The South said the Negro was too cowardly to fight. General Saxton and Colonel T. W. Higginson, however, believed in the courage of the Negro. General Saxton observed the courage of the colored soldiers who fought under him in the Indian wars in Florida. Colonel Higginson tells the story of how he and other abolitionists charged up the steps of the court house, burst open the door with a sleeper or joist from a building or the trunk of a tree, to rescue Anthony Burns. The soldiers on guard, one of whom was killed, opened fire and poured in a volley. But Higginson and an unknown Negro rushed into the court room. One soldier rushed at Higginson and attempted to cut him down. But the powerful Negro, whose name was Pennington, rushed in between Higginson and the soldier and turned the slash that was aimed at Higginson aside. Higginson says that from that moment he never doubted the courage of the Negro. Mark R. DeMortie and J. Nathaniel Butler, two colored men now living, were in the abolition mob that secured the sleeper or joist and used it as a rammer to batter down the south door of the court house.

One story of the elder Dumas is related that shows his keen wit. He was a quadroon and was sensitive about being questioned regarding his Negro blood. One inquisitive Frenchman asked him what he was. "A quadroon," Dumas replied. "Your father?" "A mulatto," said Dumas. "Your grandfather?" "A Negro," said Dumas, in his rising anger forgetting that his grandfather was a Frenchman and his grandmother a Negress. "Your great-grandfather?" "An ape, sir, an ape, sir!" cried Dumas, now beside himself with anger. "My ancestry began where yours ended." As people didn't relish being called an ape few persons after that twitted Dumas about his Negro blood.

But we must not suppose that the colored men in those days were only talkers. George W. Williams says that in 1837, out of 18,767 free colored people in Philadelphia, 250 paid for their freedom \$79,612, and owned in real and personal property

\$1,500,000. There were ten colored churches with 4,000 members, and the colored people also had chartered benevolent societies. The free colored people of Charleston also had a mutual aid society. Colored people in Boston, New Haven, Brooklyn, New York and in Washington owned their own homes, too. And the Ohio anti-slavery convention which met at Putnam, Ohio, spoke in high terms of the free colored people. George W. Williams gives the list of prominent colored men in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. This is part of the list: the scholarly Thomas Paul, a teacher in Boston; Leonard A. Grimes and John T. Raymond, clergymen in Boston; J. R. Smith and Coffin Pitts, business men in Boston; John R. Rock and John V. DeGrasse, physicians in Boston; Remond and Hilton, Boston, orators. In New York there were Dr. Charles B. Ray, Peter Williams and Henry Highland Garnett, as ministers; Charles L. Reason and William Peterson, as teachers; James McCune Smith and Phillip A. White, as physicians, and James Williams and Jacob Day as business men. In Philadelphia there were William Whipper, Stephen Smith, Robert Purvis, William Still, Fred A. Hinton, Joseph Cassey, John Peck, John B. Vashon, George Gardner, Charles Forten and James Forten. John Liverpool and John I. Gaines of Cincinnati, Ohio, were very prominent.

Of the above men, Rev. Peter H. Williams, a rector of St. Phillip's Episcopal Church, is entitled to fame in that he was the teacher of the distinguished Alexander Crummell. William Still, the author, afterwards became a wealthy coal dealer in Philadelphia and a member of the Philadelphia Board of Trade.

There were two other colored men who were pioneers in their lines, although they were not so prominent as DeGrasse. One was Robert Morris, who was admitted to the bar in Boston at a meeting of the Suffolk County Bar on June 27, 1850, and immediately drew a large number of Irish clients to himself. He was the first colored lawyer in America to break across the color line, and he was sought for legal advice by white men. The other was William Howard Day, who was librarian of the Cleveland Library from 1850 to 1860, which was quite an achievement for a colored man.

There were four noted educators in those days. Henry Smothers in 1822 or 1823 started the Smothers' School at the

corner of 14th and H streets, Washington, D. C. Then John F. Cook, the father of Hon. John F. Cook, and George F. T. Cook of Washington, leaped to the front as an educator. He was first a shoemaker, then an assistant messenger in the Land Office. He took charge of the Sunday or Smothers' School in August, 1834. In 1835 he left Washington after a riot caused by a talkative colored man. In August, 1836, he returned to Washington and opened the school as Union Seminary and taught from 100 to 150 colored youths every year. He was also the founder of the Presbyterian Church in Washington, and was a stalwart abolitionist.

Miss Maria Beycroft, born in 1805, had charge of the first seminary in the District of Columbia for colored girls. It was established in Georgetown in 1827 by Father Vauhmen, a Catholic priest. She taught from fifty to a hundred pupils every year. Louis DeMortie, a beautiful, brilliant and brainy elocutionist, born in Norfolk, Va., and educated in Boston, built in 1867 an asylum for colored orphans in New Orleans. Miss Myrtilla Miner also established a seminary for girls in Washington. Other Washington schools were the Mary Wormley School, Dr. John H. Fleet's School, Eliza Ann Cook's School and Annie E. Washington's School.

There were in those days three very wealthy colored men of the West—Henry Boyd, Samuel T. Wilcox and Alexander S. Thomas. Henry Boyd came to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1826, as a master mechanic. From 1836 to 1859 he carried on a business as builder and manufacturer of bedsteads. Sometimes he employed as many as fifty men. He was burned out three times. At first white mechanics wouldn't work with him. Then he worked as a house builder and formed partnership with a white man as builder. He invented a machine to turn the rails of a bed. Samuel T. Wilcox, in 1850, embarked in business in Cincinnati as a grocer. He began with \$25,000 in cash, accumulated a fortune of \$60,000 in real estate, transacted \$140,000 of business a year and finally failed because of carelessness and extravagance. In vain his sober and sane partner, Charles Roxboro, Sr., tried to avert impending doom. Alexander S. Thomas came to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1852 and with J. P. Ball soon embarked in the daguerreotype business, and was soon floating

upon the flood tides of prosperity, but their gallery was completely wrecked by a cyclone that swept over Cincinnati in May, 1860, and the two brilliant young colored men were financially wrecked. Their white friends, who recognized their talent, fitted up a handsome gallery for them. Williams, the Negro historian, says that it was known as "the finest photograph gallery west of the Alleghany Mountains." For nearly a score of years they did a flourishing business, having as patrons the richest people in the city, and frequently taking in over \$100 a day. Competition and the death of Thomas Carroll Ball caused the business to decline after 1875. Between the years 1860 and 1875 they did a rushing business.

The colored people of Connecticut were by no means backward in the point of material progress. Rev. A. G. Beamon, the pastor of what was then known as the Temple Street Congregational Church, at the colored men's convention in Hartford, in October, 1854, spoke of the remarkable progress made by the colored people of New Haven. He said that the colored people of New Haven, who numbered nearly 2,000, owned \$200,000 worth of real estate, bank and railroad stock; that they had four Methodist churches, one Congregational church, one Episcopal church, and one Baptist church; that they had a literary society with a circulating library, and that there were four colored schoolhouses there. This is really a remarkable record: it shows that forty-one years before Dr. Booker T. Washington delivered his famous Atlanta speech the colored people of New Haven appreciated the value of industry, thrift and economy.

But Rev. Beamon was not the only prominent citizen of Connecticut in those early days. DuBois, the grandfather of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the celebrated sociologist and littérateur, was the founder of and first vestryman in St. Luke's Episcopal Church. Deacon Lathrop, the father of that brilliant militiaman, Captain Daniel Lathrop of Company A, Fifth Battalion, was a pillar of the Congregational Church.

Mr. Parks, the father-in-law of the late E. D. Bassett, United States minister to Hayti, was a mathematician and an astronomer. Caterer Creed, the father of Dr. Creed, was Yale's popular caterer. A few years before the Civil War a group of remarkable colored mechanics came from Newbern and Washington, N. C.

They were Charles L. McLynn, William Hancock, John Harvey, Anthony Skinner, John Groves, Willis Bonner and Mr. Keys, carpenters; John Lane and John Godette, blacksmiths. Just after the Civil War, John Norcom, another successful carpenter, came to New Haven from Norfolk, Va. Of these, Skinner, Lane, Groves, McLynn and Norcom accumulated considerable real estate; Skinner, Godette, Groves and Israel Butler served as deacons in the Congregational Church; McLynn and Norcom served as trustees, while Willis Bonner was a tower of strength in the Bethel A. M. E. Church, a political leader, a special constable and the president of the Colored Republican Club, which had a mammoth meeting in honor of Frederick Douglass in the fall of 1888. For over a quarter of a century Charles McLynn was a carpenter in Yale University and served as chairman of the trustee board of the Temple Street Congregational Church, later known as the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church. He represented the Tenth Ward, an aristocratic white ward, in the common Council. At his death, in the winter of 1907, President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale University and many of Yale's famous professors attended his funeral.

Then there was Father Manning, a shipbuilder and a respected citizen of Fair Haven, a pillar of the Bethel A. M. E. Church. One of his sons, John Manning, graduated from Yale University and became principal of a normal school in Knoxville, Tenn.; another, Edward Manning, graduated from the Yale Art School and became an artistic sign painter; while still another, William Manning, became a master carpenter and a prominent political leader. The careers of the men mentioned in this paragraph largely cover the post-bellum period; but I refer to them in this chapter because they, with one or two exceptions, came to New Haven in the ante-bellum days.

The colored people of Charleston, S. C., amassed considerable property before the war. In 1860, 360 colored people owned property in Charleston which was valued for taxation at \$724,570. Of these 360 taxpayers, 130 owned, in toto, 390 slaves, and one colored person owned fourteen slaves.

In Louisiana, many Negro creoles were slaveholders and owned large tracts of land. One of the Negro creoles of Louisiana spent \$40,000 on a law suit before the war.



(From The New York Sun.)

As result of the Louisiana Supreme Court's definition of the term "Negro" we do not look for such a social upheaval and readjustment as seems to be expected in these latitudes. Louisiana got along very well for nearly 200 years without any legislation to protect the white race from contamination. New Orleans was full of colored people before the Civil War, many of them wealthy and cultivated and self-respecting.

There and in other parts of the state they were property holders, owning plantations and slaves, conducting great commercial enterprises, pursuing professions, operating banking concerns, etc.

They were merchants, doctors and musicians. They maintained a volunteer fire department and they furnished to Andrew Jackson at Chalmette a battalion of colored soldiers armed, equipped and paid at their own expense. Moreover, nearly all the carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, coopers, sugar boilers, and so on, in the state were Negroes or colored persons conditionally manumitted by their proprietors and living a life of almost perfect freedom and independence.

#### COLORED SLAVE-OWNERS AND TRADERS IN THE OLD DAYS.

(George W. Forbes in the *A. M. E. Church Review*, January, 1913.)

Throughout the fifty years which spanned the abolishing of Negro slavery in America the inhumanity of that institution was so constantly accentuated that not even its most bitter foe felt safe in venturing a word that might even remotely be construable in its favor. During the first half of that period, slavery, for its own salvation, studiously suppressed whatever in any form might bear evidence of the Negro's humanity in common with the others. Like fungi, it flourished best in hidden places, and from out its dark domain nothing touching the Negro was allowed to escape, except as would further add to the belief that no good could come out of that Nazareth. And then at length came the blighting cataclysm of all in the war of secession, which finally engulfed slavery and with it the teachings of slavery, so completely that, like the Noachian flood, nothing but the evil memories of it remained. Thus, amid the wreckage of

"things that were

There hidden—far beneath and long ago—"

the achievements of the ante-bellum Negro during those years of yearning have lain a book with seven seals, with none who felt it worthy to be opened till now the ardent zeal of modern research along kindred lines is beginning to throw some side-light on this subject. But hopeless and dispiriting as slavery everywhere was for everything connected with Negro aspiration, there had, nevertheless, been, even in the slave States, some evidence of progress among colored people wherever the argus-eyed minions of self-interest allowed the repressive codes to slumber. This

progress was more or less confined to the cities or large towns of such States, though there were not wanting examples of colored men who achieved success as planters.

For new light on this subject, the fruit of recent inquiry, we are especially indebted to the labors of the Rev. Calvin Dill Wilson, himself a Southerner by birth, but now an adopted son of Ohio. Rev. Wilson's line of investigation has singularly enough covered, or, at least paralleled, a similar work of our own, or rather, in the words of Rome's last master singer:

"hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,  
Perquem magnus equos Aurunca flexit alumnus."

DeMaistre's saying that "history is a conspiracy against truth," seems destined to find full verification in America, else we should not just now be learning through Mr. Wilson of the large array of Negro slave-holders in the old days. It has remained for this Glendale Ohio divine to explore this neglected corner of American history, and to bring to us two excellent articles as the result of long and painstaking investigations. Rev. Wilson gave us the first of these articles through the pages of the *North American Review* in 1905. In the first article the writer adduced some substantial, though not numerous, examples of "Black Masters," as he then called them; but probably created more surprise by raising this, for the most part, unheard-of subject than anything else. He nevertheless found that there had been a large number in most of the slave States. Though no amount of labor enabled him to get much information from libraries and books on his subject at first, Rev. Wilson did finally strike a vein which has led to a rich mine of facts and data for history. Old country records, deeds of sale and manumission have yielded valuable information where history was otherwise wholly dumb and indifferent.

Louisiana, by reason of its Spanish and French origin, furnished some of the most conspicuous examples of Negro slave-holders. To Mr. Wilson, Mr. D. C. Scarborough, of Natchitoches, La., wrote: "There are many data to be had by examining the old records of this Parish on the subject of the purchase, ownership and sale of slaves by free blacks. The truth of the matter is that free blacks owned, bought and sold slaves, as did the whites. The succession of C. N. Roques in this parish in a case in which a free black owned some hundred or so slaves, all of whom were freed by the Proclamation of Emancipation. We do not recollect any special legislation authorizing the ownership of Negroes by free blacks. When a slave became free, he bought and sold fully under the law, just as any other citizen did. There was no longer any distinction. In many of the old deeds it was recited that A. B. 'being a free person of color,' etc. History will show that the free blacks who owned slaves rarely, if ever, emancipated them. Slaves who were emancipated were, as a rule, emancipated by white owners; and this

emancipation by white owners is the manner in which free blacks came into existence. There was a very large number of these in this parish, some of the richest people in the parish being free persons of color. On tracing back the history of these families, it is generally found that they were emancipated by former white owners. There are four or five such families that married and intermarried, until they were all related. In some instances, there were to be found as many as one hundred and fifty voters in one ward of these free persons of color; their descendants live here yet. As a rule, these families took the name of their former master who freed them. A large per cent. of those in this parish are named Metoyer, one of the old rich Metoyers having freed some of his slaves. The same is true of the Dupre family and of the Tachal family; there being as many free colored Rachals as there were white at the close of the war. This general outline can be very generally verified by copies of the old records here."

The Hon. B. F. Jonas of New Orleans, replied: "A great many slaves were owned by the free blacks before the war, not only in this State, but throughout the South. In this State there were quite a large number of colored slave-owners, most of them were of the class known as 'quad-rooms,' but some of them were mulattoes and full-blood Negroes, who, as a rule, inherited property and afterward added to it, probably by purchase. Free colored people had a right to the ownership and possession of slave property, as well as movable property.

Then there was the case of Nori (LeNoir), a pure-blooded Negro, who owned not only a large plantation, but 100 slaves besides in Mississippi. Noir was well known for the kindly care he took of his slaves, though he was at the same time very exact with them. But most remarkable of all the careers of these Negroes of yore in Mississippi is that of Dr. Gowen, at Port Gibson, in Claiborne County, early in the first half of the nineteenth century. The personal incidents in the life of this unique figure in medicine are hardly less interesting than his career."

Mr. Wilson followed his magazine article with an inquiry thrown into the daily press, which made the rounds generally, at least, of the larger newspapers. This brought him a fund of information on his subject, the most interesting of which was that "the list of tax-payers of the City of Charleston, S. C., for 1860 names 132 colored people who paid taxes on 390 slaves in Charleston," and the names of many other colored people who were compensated for slaves when that institution was abolished in the District of Columbia in 1862. These facts, together with many other individual cases, were given by the writer in the second installment of his article, which he prepared this time for the November *Popular Science Monthly*. Rev. Wilson was also able to draw on Fred Law Olmstead's "Journey in the Seaboard Slave States" (1856).

Rev. James Freeman Clarke's condition of the free colored people in the United States was published first in the *Christian Examiner* in 1859, and later on in his volume of "Antislavery Recollections." The two

Carolinas, Maryland and Louisiana were the States where black slave-owners were the most numerous.

Our Ohio author has shown great industry by the amount of information brought together on this subject, but has, nevertheless, labored at much disadvantage by not having complied with the injunction of dear old Plutarch, who warns every historian that: "As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some popular town, which has an ambition for literature." By such a residence his labors would have been immeasurably facilitated and enlarged through access to such other works as Thornton's "History of Slavery," Bassett's "History of Slavery," or, rather, the chapter on free blacks in North Carolina, Wayman's and Payne's "Recollections," and the latter's "History of the A. M. E. Denomination," and, in fact, I know not how many other such works.

The last third of Olmstead's "Seaboard Slave States," which is devoted to Louisiana, is one of the best outlines of the social condition there we have ever seen in print, and Mr. Wilson could have added many other incidents about the old-time free blacks in that section. He could have bridged somewhat the hiatus between pages 633 and 641, which he has inadvertently linked without asterisks, had he chosen to add, with one of two others equally strong, the following paragraph:

"Between Washington and Opelousas, a distance of about six miles, if I recollect rightly, three handsome houses, attached to first-rate plantations, were pointed out to me as belonging to free colored men."

Rev. Wilson finds that there were about 6,200 colored slave-holders in the days of yore, and that these "Black Masters" owned some 18,000 slaves. But, apart from chattel property, there was much other wealth. In Louisiana alone, at the end of the war, it was found that the colored people owned \$13,000,000 (thirteen million) worth of property. In fact, that the colored man's efforts to accumulate had been much wider and more successful than was, or is, generally known, the following paragraph from the first semi-annual report (1866) of J. W. Alvord, inspector of schools and finances of the Freedmen's Bureau, made after a visit into every part of the States here considered, will further bear evidence:

"Poor and dependent as most of the freedmen are, I found that a considerable number had money. Among the former free people many had reached a condition above want, and, in the large towns and cities, there are individuals who might be called rich. These men, in some cases, purchased themselves from slavery, and are mechanics, keepers of groceries and wood yards, butchers, marketmen and women, owning their dwellings in town, or its suburbs, and some with small plantations."

#### THE CELEBRATED RYNDERS MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY.

Now we come to the celebrated Rynders meeting, where Frederick Douglass and Samuel Ringgold Ward covered themselves with glory by overwhelming with their logic and eloquence a mob

that had assembled in New York at an anti-slavery meeting. Mr. George Washington Forbes, in his article in the *Springfield Republican* for Sunday, February 23, 1913, says:

But Douglass and Ward were glad to make common cause against their common enemy, slavery, whenever the opportunity offered. Such an opportunity, in fact, their greatest opportunity, came in 1850, during the annual session of the National Anti-Slavery Society, in the old Broadway Tabernacle, situated at the north corner of Broadway and what is now Worth Street, New York City. This building had been planned by Rev. Charles G. Finney, the noted revivalist, and, later on, an Oberlin professor, as an American Exeter hall for just such anniversary occasions.

This meeting was probably the most exciting ever experienced by even the anti-slavery people and has come to be known in history as the Rynders meeting, by reason of the activity of one Isaiah Rynders, the leader of the mob. Rynders was somewhat notorious for getting up riots; he was at this time a small-bore political heeler for Tammany and had been dropped from his place in the custom house in New York by the Whig administration, then in power. The mob had been planned and gathered beforehand by this leader, and leading papers in the city had been demanding for a week in advance that the anti-slavery people be prevented from holding their meeting in New York, at all hazards. When, therefore, the anti-slavery leaders threw open the door of the old Tabernacle, on that 7th of May morning, to the public, Rynders and his mob already coached, rushed to the places previously agreed upon.

The main account of the meeting is taken from Garrison's life by his children:

Up rose, as per agreement, one "Professor" Grant, a seedy-looking personage, having one hand tied round with a dirty cotton cloth. Mr. Garrison recognized him as a former pressman in the *Liberator* office. His thesis was that the blacks were not men, but belonged to the monkey tribe. His speech proved dull and tiresome, and was made sport of by his own set, whom Mr. Garrison had to call to order. There were now loud cries for Frederick Douglass, who came forward to where Rynders stood in the conspicuous position he had taken when he thought the meeting was his, and remained in it, too mortified even to creep away, when he found it was somebody else's. "Now you can speak," said he to Douglass; "but mind what I say; if you speak disrespectfully of the South, or Washington, or Patrick Henry I'll knock you off the stage." Nothing daunted, the ex-fugitive from greater terrors began:

"The gentleman who has just spoken has undertaken to prove that the blacks are not human beings. He has examined our whole conformation, from top to toe. I cannot follow him in his argument. I will assist him in it, however. I offer myself for your examination. Am I a man?"

The audience responded with a thunderous affirmative, which Captain Rynders sought to break by exclaiming: "You are not a black man; you are only half a nigger." "Then," replied Mr. Douglass, turning upon him with the blandest of smiles and an almost affective obeisance, "I am half-brother to Captain Rynders!" He would not deny that he was the son of a slave-holder, born of Southern "amalgamation"; a fugitive, too, like Kossuth—"another half-brother of mine" (to Rynders). He spoke of the difficulties thrown in the way of industrious colored people at the North, as he had himself experienced—this by way of answer to Horace Greeley, who had recently complained of their inefficiency and dependance. Criticism of the editor of the *Tribune* being grateful to Rynders, a political adversary, he added a word to Douglass's against Greeley. "I am happy," said Douglass, "to have the assent of my half-brother here," pointing to Rynders, and convulsing the audience with laughter. After this, Rynders, finding how he was played with, took care to hold his peace; but some one of Rynder's company in the gallery undertook to interrupt the speaker. "It's of no use," said Mr. Douglass, "I've Captain Rynders here to back me." "We were born here," he said finally, "we are not dying out, and we mean to stay here. We made the clothes you have on, the sugar you put into your tea. We could do more if allowed." "Yes," said a voice in the crowd, "you would cut our throats for us." "No," was the quick response, "but we would cut your hair for you."

Douglass concluded his triumphant remarks by calling upon the Rev. Samuel R. Ward, editor of the *Impartial Citizen*, to succeed him. "All eyes," says Dr. Furness, "were instantly turned to the back of the platform, or stage rather, so dramatic was the scene; and there, amidst a group, stood a large man, so black that, as Wendell Phillips said, when he shut his eyes you could not see him. . . . As he approached, Rynders exclaimed: "Well, this is the original nigger!" "I've heard of the magnanimity of Captain Rynders," said Ward, "but the half has not been told me!" And then he went on with a noble voice, and his speech was such a strain of eloquence as I never heard excelled before or since. The mob had to applaud him, too, and it is the highest praise to record that his unpremeditated utterance maintained the level of Douglass's, and ended the meeting with a sense of climax—demonstrating alike the humanity and the capacity (Bennett's "ideal intellect") of the full-blooded negro.

When he ceased speaking, the time had expired for which the Tabernacle was engaged, and we had to adjourn. "Never" continues Dr. Furness, "was there a grander triumph of intelligence of mind over brute force." Two colored men, whose claim to be considered human was denied, had, by mere force of intellect, overwhelmed their maligners with confusion. As the audience was thinning out, I went down on the floor to see some friends there. Rynders came by. I could not help saying to him: "How shall we thank you for what you have done for us to-day?" "Well," said he, "I do not like to hear my country abused,

but that last thing was, I believe, a simple assertion of the right of the people to think and speak freely."

Ward went to Canada in October, 1851, to escape arrest for the part he took in the rescue of Gerry, a fugitive slave, from the Syracuse jail. Ward's speech to a crowd gathered around the jail inspired them to rush the jail and rescue Gerry, who was sent to Canada.

For nearly two years Ward was active in behalf of fugitive slaves there. He went to England, addressed the May Anniversaries in 1853, and attracted considerable attention there as an orator. While in England he published his work, "The Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro."

Towards the close of his article in the *Republican*, Mr. Forbes says of Ward's appearance in London:

The noted British clergyman, Dr. John Campbell, wrote in the *British Banner*: "Mr. Ward since his arrival in England has been most severely tested—tested beyond every other man of color that ever came to these shores. He has been called to speak in all sorts of meetings, upon all sorts of subjects, under every variety of circumstance, side by side with the first men of the time, and in no case has he failed to acquit himself with honor. With intellectual power and rhetorical ability of a very high order, he has not merely sustained the first impressions he reproduced, but materially added to them."

One of Ward's English friends deeded him a farm on the Island of Jamaica, and Ward went there in 1855, living in retirement until his death, which occurred in 1867.

#### HARRIET TUBMAN.

(From the *American Review*, August, 1912)

No one knows exactly when Harriet Ross was born, but it was on the eastern shore of Maryland and not much less than a hundred years ago. She knows that her mother's mother was brought in a slave-ship from Africa, that her mother was the daughter of a white man, an American, and her father a full-blooded negro.

Harriet was not large but she was very strong. The most strenuous slave labor was demanded of her—summer and winter she drove ox-carts—she plowed—with her father she cut timber and drew heavy logs like a patient mule. About the year 1844 she was married to a freedman named Tubman. He proved unworthy and deserted her. She determined to try and escape from slavery and induced her two brothers to go with her. The three started together, but the brothers soon became

frightened and turned back. Harriet went on, alone. All through the night she walked and ran—alone. When she reached a place of safety it was morning. She says: "I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person, now I was free—there was such a glory over everything, the sun came like gold through the trees and over the fields and I felt like I was in heaven!" Not one to enjoy heaven alone was that generous heart. Nineteen times did she return to the land of slavery; and each time brought away to Canada groups of men, women and children, her parents and brothers among them, about three hundred in all. A prize of \$40,000 was offered for her capture, but Harriet was never caught. She delights to recall the fact that on all those long and perilous journeys on the "Underground Railroad," she never lost a passenger! Her belief that she was and is sustained and guided by "de sperit of de Lord"—is absolute. Governor Andrews of Massachusetts appointed her scout and nurse during the war. She is now receiving a pension.

One of the most important episodes in which Harriet took a leading part and proved the saving factor was Colonel Montgomerie's exploit on the Combahee River. General Hunter secured Harriet's assistance for the great undertaking. The plan was to send several gunboats and a few men up the river, in an attempt to collect the slaves living near the shores—and carry them down to Beaufort within the Union lines. It is worth a day's journey to hear Harriet herself describe the vivid scene—throngs of hesitating refugees, a motley crowd, men, women, children, babies—"Peers like I nebber see so many twins in my life"—and pigs and chickens and such domestic necessities as could be "toted" along. The slave-drivers had used their whips in vain to get the poor refugees back to their quarters; and yet the blacks were almost as much in dread of the stranger soldiers. How to deal with this turbulent mass of humanity? The colonel realized the danger of delay, and calling Harriet to the upper deck, in a voice of command said: "Moses, you'll have to give 'em a song!" Then the power of the woman poured forth—Harriet lifted up a voice full of emotional fervor in verse after verse of prophetic promise. She improvised both words and melody:

Of all the whole creation in the East or in the West  
The glorious Yankee nation is the greatest and the best!

Come along! Come along! Don't be alarm,  
Uncle Sam's rich enough to give us all a farm!

Come along! Come along! Don't be a fool.  
Uncle Sam's rich enough to send us all to school! etc., etc.

As she chanted the refrain "Come along! Come along!" she raised her long arms with an imperious gesture impossible to resist. The crowd responded with shouts of "Glory! Glory!" The victory was won—about eight hundred souls eagerly scrambled on board the gunboats and were transported to freedom.



Among the many men of note who trusted and encouraged the intrepid little woman were Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Garrett, William H. Seward, Emerson, Alcott, Dr. Howe and Gerrit Smith. Frederick Douglass wrote of her, "Excepting John Brown, I know no one who has encountered more perils and hardships to serve our enslaved people." John Brown said, "Mr. Phillips, I bring you one of the best and bravest persons of this continent, 'General Tubman,' as we call her." He also said, "She is the most of a man, naturally, that I ever met with." This war-time general now speaks with tender reverence—"John Brown, my dearest friend"—and she whom he called "the most of a man" is also more of a mother than most women. She founded and maintained a home for colored men and women. She "dwells in the midst of them, singing."

ANNE FITZHUGH MILLER.

She died in March, 1913, in Auburn, N. Y.

MARK R. DE MORTIE.

The following autobiographic sketch gives some of the incidents of the public life of Mark R. De Mortie, the son-in-law of George T. Downing, who was a friend of Charles Sumner.

I was born at Norfolk, Va., May 8, 1829. At the age of eighteen I became acquainted with a man known as "Dr." Harry Lundy who was an unlearned man, he took me into his confidence and told me he was accustomed to conceal slaves in his house prior to their being run away from slavery. (He, Lundy, being a free born man) he would have me write letters to parties with whom he coöperated. From that time until the age of twenty-two, I had assisted and caused the escape of about twenty-two slaves to Dr. Tobias at Philadelphia and others to New Bedford. At Philadelphia Dr. Tobias would forward them to Mass. or Canada. Men I would have stored away, one or two at a time in a vessel bound North paying the captain or steward \$25.00 for each man. A woman I had to pay \$50.000 because she had to be dressed in man's attire and they would only take one woman at a time; the slaves furnished their own money with one exception, namely in 1851 I came to Boston and I met Mr. Lewis Hayden and in conversation with him in reference to slaves running away from the South, I said that many of them would come if they had the means. I named one man to him that had been trying to save \$25.00 for about a year but could not do so. In a few weeks when I was about to return to Norfolk, Va., Lewis Hayden gave me \$25.00 to pay for that man's freedom. When I returned to Virginia I got a captain named Hunt of New Bedford to take him on his vessel to New Bedford; the man was known in slavery as Tom Spratley but changed his name after his arrival in New Bedford. He was a locksmith but in New Bedford got a situation as lamp lighter

for the city. All I required of him to do was to report his arrival North to Lewis Hayden. After his escape through Dr. Lundy and myself we caused the escape to freedom of many others including Maria Agusta, who made her home in Boston. When about to return to Boston permanently I attempted to have a young woman who was known South as Sally Waller to escape to Boston to her brother William Dunn, she was afterwards known as Sally Jackson residing in New Bedford; this last attempt to assist in freeing human beings from bondage came very near giving me a long imprisonment through a letter that was written by her brother to me which was intercepted by her so-called master, and I had to resort to the same means to make my own escape as I had sent the poor slaves. I then came to Boston opened a shoe store at partnership with her brother, William Dunn, at 127 Cambridge Street, Boston. There was an effort made to Governor Clifford of Massachusetts to have me returned South as a fugitive from justice, my crime being that of running away slaves, their property, but Governor Clifford would not acknowledge property in slaves. I consulted Lawyer Benjamin F. Hallett, John A. Andrew and Benjamin F. Butler (later general) the latter told me to arm myself with a pistol, go to my store, attend to my business, keep near my money drawer, where I would have my pistol, if any one came to my store that looked suspicious, and I suspected them as coming to arrest me that it would be better to be tried in Massachusetts for murder than to be tried in Virginia for running away slaves. In 1853 I took an active part in politics, I joined the Free-soil party, then in 1854 I allied myself with the No-Nothing party together with Rev. L. A. Grimes, Lewis Hayden, Dr. John S. Rock and Dr. J. B. Smith, we five being recognized as the leading colored men of that time in politics. The colored voters recognized us as such. The No-Nothing party wanted our support feeling they would thereby get the colored vote. They, the No-Nothing party was successful in wiping out all other parties including the Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers. Most of the Free Soilers in the state joined the No-Nothing party with the view of making it anti-slavery. The No-Nothing party was a secret political party. After the election their executive committee appointed a committee consisting of three members of the Legislature, Dr. James M. Stone, Charles W. Slack and John L. Swift, to wait upon us five previously named colored men, to ask us what we desired in behalf of the colored people; our reply was mixed schools; then the committee said they would do all in their power to have our request granted. Boston was then the only city in the State that proscribed us in their schools. There was then only one schoolhouse in Boston where all the colored children from all over the city including East Boston had to attend and that one was corner of Smith Court and Belknap Street (now known as Joy Street). William C. Nell, Benjamin F. Roberts and others had been agitating equal school rights for years previous. In January, 1855, when the Legislature met, according to the promise made to Rev. L. A. Grimes, Lewis Hayden, Dr. J. B.

Smith, John S. Rock and myself, by Stone, Slack and Swift (who was known in the Legislature as the three S's), a bill was introduced requiring all children to attend the schools in the Wards in which they lived. The bill was passed during that Session and in the Fall of that year colored children were admitted to all the Schools.

In 1854 when Anthony Burns was arrested in Boston to be returned to slavery a number of men including Lewis Hayden, George T. Downing, Deacon James Scott, Nathaniel Butler, T. W. Higginson and numerous others besides myself, stormed the southwest door of the court house on Court Square in an attempt to rescue Anthony Burns. We failed in the attempt owing to a deputy marshal by the name of Batchelador being killed in resisting us. This together with others crushed in the court house, was one of the causes that frustrated our intention.

In 1856 and '57 Benjamin F. Roberts (a printer) and myself got colored men employed for the first time as laborers in the City of Boston.

Lewis Hayden, B. F. Roberts, myself and others secured the removal of the word col. (which implied colored) from colored men's names on the voting list.

When Charles Sumner was brutally assaulted by Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina in the United States Senate chamber, Anson Burlingame, a Congressman from Boston, denounced Brooks in such severe language for the cowardly act that Preston Brooks challenged Burlingame to fight a duel, an effort was made in the Boston district by the sympathizers of the South to defeat Burlingame for reelection. Judge Thomas Russell, Mark R. De Mortie and others gave six weeks daily canvass (without compensation) of the district to secure Anson Burlingame's reelection, and he was reelected. In 1860 after the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, Lewis Hayden and M. R. De Mortie organized what was known as the West Boston Colored Wide Awakes, a political organization consisting of 144 uniformed and equipped men (of which John P. Coburn was the commander) to parade and arouse an enthusiasm among all voters to assist in securing the election of our much beloved Abraham Lincoln. We paraded in Boston and different parts of the State with similar white organizations of which there was a large number. In 1863 when the 54th colored regiment was organized at the solicitation of Governor John A. Andrew, Ezra Lincoln (sub treasurer of the United States), Hon. Samuel Hooper, Rev. L. A. Grimes, Lewis Hayden and others, I was asked to accept the appointment of subter of the 54th Regiment, they basing it on the ground that I would study the soldiers' interests. Upon my consenting, in April of that year Colonel Robert G. Shaw appointed me to that position which I accepted and fulfilled to the credit of myself and best interest of the regiment. The 54th sailed from Boston the 28th day of May, 1863, and was without pay for eighteen months, owing to a law that had been passed by Congress giving United States colored troops \$7.00 per month each; the 54th Regiment enlisted as part of the state's quota and did

not come under the bill passed by Congress, but had been promised \$13.00 per month when they enlisted (the same amount that white soldiers received). When the paymaster of the United States Army refused to pay them more than \$7.00 per month I told the men in my regiment to refuse the \$7.00 a month, and I would credit them to \$2.00 each per month as long as they would stand firm for the amount they enlisted for, which they did and at the end of the eighteen months when they were paid the \$13.00 per month that they enlisted for. They owed me about fourteen thousand dollars and they paid me their indebtedness like men, and I never had to stop a man's pay for what he owed me. My regiment never had but three pay days during the war. They were mustered out in 1865. In 1866 De Mortie and Watson opened a tailoring establishment at No. 1 Cambridge Street near the Revere House. January, 1868, the white laborers at the Boston & Albany Railroad demanded more pay than they were receiving and struck on a Saturday. Sunday morning Judge Russell (one of the directors of that road) called Lewis Hayden and myself in consultation to see if we could furnish enough able-bodied colored men to fill the places of the strikers. About 120 were required; we told him we thought we could; up to that time no colored laborers had been employed on that road. Lewis Hayden and I wrote notices and had them read in all the colored churches requesting all able-bodied colored men that wanted permanent work to meet us at the Union Progressive Association rooms corner of Cambridge and Chamber Streets at five o'clock that Sunday afternoon. We there enrolled 120 names of men that promised to meet me at the rear of the United States Hotel at 7 o'clock Monday morning. I reported at 6 o'clock Sunday evening to Judge Russell that I would be at the Boston & Albany Depot (opposite United States Hotel) Monday morning, at which time I marched 120 men upstairs at the depot.

I contended with the superintendent before the men were put to work that they should receive the same pay of those that had struck, and that they should retain their situations as long as they did their work creditably. The superintendent could not make me the promise until the vice president, Mr. Chapin, could arrive from Worcester and confirm it. He returned about noon and agreed to give the men permanent work and same wages. The same year I went to Chicago to the Soldiers' National Convention as a delegate, at which convention General U. S. Grant was nominated for President of the United States. The day after Gen. Grant was also nominated by the National Republican party.

Becoming infatuated with Chicago, I returned to Boston, sold my interest out in the tailoring business and returned to Chicago and went in partnership in the real estate and brokerage business with John Jones of that city. Becoming interested in the oil sassafras business, I spent the winter months in Virginia. After marrying Cordelia Downing, the daughter of Hon. Geo. T. Downing, I located in Virginia, and took much interest in the schools and politics, having become an unsuccessful candidate for Congress (from the fourth Congressional district) through

fraud. I was deputy collector of internal revenue, while there, and was sent as an alternate to the Chicago National Convention in 1880 where I served as the delegate for William L. Fernald from the fourth district of Virginia. When I went to Nottaway County there were only seven colored schools, all taught by white teachers. When I moved away there was fourteen colored schools all taught by colored teachers with one exception. After my oil factory and saw mill valued at six thousand dollars was burned down, having no insurance, I sold part of the land I owned there and returned home to Boston in 1887 and resumed my tailoring business."

M. R. DE MORTIE,  
*Per Cordelia.*

Mr. De Mortie's daughter, Miss Irene, married Dr. Marcus B. Wheatland, the X-ray expert of Newport, R. I., who has three rooms fitted up like a laboratory and who, with his X-ray machines, has successfully treated some of Newport's wealthy residents.

#### RELIGIOUS PIONEERS.

Rev. Lott Carey, the first American Missionary to Africa, was born in Virginia about 1780. His first occupation was that of tobacco packer in a warehouse in Richmond, Va. In 1807 he began to master the art of reading. A New Testament was his first reader.

He saved his money and bought his freedom. On January 23, 1820, when he and Rev. Collin Teague set sail for Sierra Leone, Africa, he had accumulated over \$1,500 worth of real estate. He reached Sierra Leone after forty-four days sailing. In 1824 he was appointed as physician for the settlers in Africa, and in 1828 was appointed acting governor of Liberia. He could fight as well as preach and died November 10, 1828, as the result of an explosion while he was making cartridges.

The three celebrated Paul brothers, Thomas, Benjamin and Nathaniel, sons of a Revolutionary soldier, received their limited education at their home in Exeter. They started out like the Apostles, planting the first colored Baptist Churches in Boston, New York and Albany. Mr. G. W. Forbes in the *A. M. E. Church Review* for April says: "The New York wing of the family settled finally in Canada, establishing a church there. With its five generations behind it, the Paul family, with three founder preachers, two able poets, and more than a dozen teachers, is the most remarkable colored family in America."

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

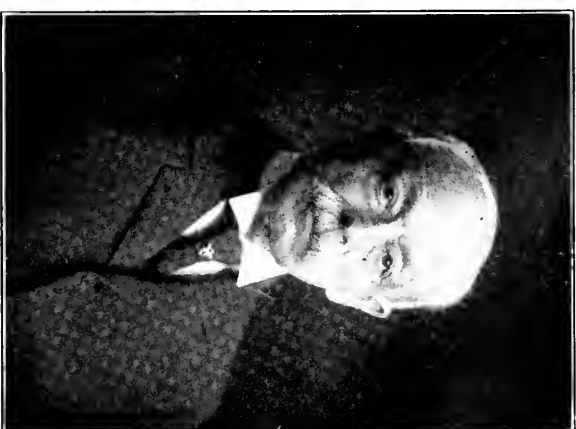
*Some Connecticut Abolitionists—Slavery Days in Torrington—  
Prudence Crandall—John Brown.*

Massachusetts' part in the abolition movement has been told and retold so often that it has passed into the common stock of everyday-knowledge. How William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of the *Liberator*, was dragged through the streets of Boston, with a rope around his neck in broad daylight, by a mob of "gentlemen"; how Lovejoy the printer was cowardly murdered by a mob in Alton, Ill.; how Charles Sumner was cowardly struck down in the United States Senate by Brooks of South Carolina; how nobly Moorfield Story told the story of his heroic life; how bravely John Brown, the heroic martyr, went to the scaffold because he had seized the arsenal at Harpers Ferry and incited the slaves to insurrection; how the heroic soul of the gifted Wendell Phillips was fired as he, from his office window, witnessed the outrage upon William Lloyd Garrison; how his eloquence blazed forth in Faneuil Hall when the recreant Attorney General James T. Austin attempted to compare the murderers of Lovejoy with Hancock, Otis and Warren; how calmly he faced mobs and immortalized Toussaint L'Ouverture in his matchless oration; how Charles Sumner died whispering "Don't let my Civil Rights bill fail"; how brave, brown, broad-shouldered Parker Pillsbury, the uncle of Hon. A. E. Pillsbury, scaled pulpits; how Theodore Parker, the thundering Unitarian preacher, housed a fugitive slave in his house and stood gun in his hand at his door; how he, when Massachusetts returned a fugitive slave, preached a sermon in Music Hall that woke the puritan fire of Massachusetts; how Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" roused the conscience of the North; how Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" cheered and nerved the Union soldiers; how Henry Ward Beecher sold slaves on a Sunday in his pulpit as an object lesson; how Gerrit Smith, in 1849, gave large tracts of land to colored men in the Adirondack Mountains; how surveyors robbed them of the land; how Gerrit Smith and



JOHN BROWN

(Courtesy of F. B. Sanborn)



REV. A. F. BEARD, D.D.

Honorary Secretary and Editor of the American  
Missionary Association, who for a quarter of  
a century directed the magnificent chain  
of Congregational schools and  
churches in the South  
and Porto Rico





George H. Stearns befriended John Brown when preparing for his Harpers Ferry raid; how George H. Stearns backed him financially when he went to Kansas; how Brown gained the title of Osawatimie Brown, how he strung in a row the men who murdered his son and shot them down at Pottawatomie, Kans., May 24, 1856; how War Governor Andrews organized a colored regiment; how Stearns, at his own expense, clothed and provided a Negro regiment with arms; how Robert Gould Shaw, Colonel N. P. Hallowell and Thomas Wentworth Higginson commanded Negro regiments; how Ben Butler cut the Gordian knot by calling escaped slaves who ran into the Union army "Contrabands of war"; and how Edna D. Cheney, Julia Ward Howe, Lucretia Mott, Mary Livermore, Lidia Maria Childs, Maria White, Lowell's first wife, and Wendell Phillips' invalid wife labored for the slave—all these facts are as familiar to every schoolboy in the land as Paul Revere's ride and the battle of Bunker Hill. And the country has heard of the generosity of the Cranes of Massachusetts, the Hazards and Wetmores of Rhode Island and the Stokes of New York, but that Rev. Leonard Bacon of New Haven, Conn., who had a controversy with William Lloyd Garrison, was a tower of strength to the anti-slavery cause; that Rev. Leonard Bacon of Norwich, Conn., prevailed upon Slater to give a million dollars for Negro education; that Rev. Simeon Smith Jocelyn, the engraver of New Haven, Conn., was the first white man to propose a college for colored youth and pastor a colored church, are facts which are not so generally well known.

The author of this work first received his youthful inspiration at English Hall Sunday School, now known as the City Mission Sunday School, in New Haven. That school is attended by boys and girls of all classes, races and colors, and was founded by Rev. John C. Collins, a Yale graduate and former secretary of the Christian Workers. Over that school, as superintendent, for twenty-one years, has presided Livingston W. Cleaveland, who for six terms was judge of probate at New Haven. He is a grandson of the late Nathaniel Jocelyn and a grand nephew of Rev. Simeon Smith Jocelyn. When Judge Cleaveland, in 1903, appointed George W. Crawford, a brilliant young colored man, to a clerkship in the Probate Court, subsequently promoting him

to the chief clerkship, it was regarded as an innovation, in spite of the fact that Mr. Crawford had graduated at Tuskegee Institute, had taken his B.A. at Talladega College, had taken a prize every year of his law course at Yale University, and had at graduation won the most coveted honor in the Yale Law School—the Townsend oration prize.

Rev. Alexander F. Irvine, in a letter to the *New Haven Union*, graphically discussed Judge Cleaveland's action, the letter reading in part as follows:

To get at the inwardness of the thing one must go away back and begin at the maternal grandfathers on the one side and the father on the other. Nathaniel Jocelyn, the portrait painter, and friend of the famous Cinquez, the Amistad captive, was not only the friend of the colored man but was a champion of equal rights, which is something more. Jocelyn was Cleaveland's grandfather, and his house in York Street was a station of the underground railway.

Jocelyn had a brother named Simeon Smith Jocelyn, the noted engraver, who was brave enough to also serve as white pastor of the old Temple Street colored church—at a time when to do so cost a great deal more than the appointment to-day of a colored man to a clerkship. He was the intimate friend of and co-laborer with William Lloyd Garrison and Arthur Tappan.

It was the Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, who, in Philadelphia, in 1831, at a great convention of colored people, proposed a scheme for a college for colored students at New Haven. The college was to include instruction in the mechanical arts, agriculture and horticulture. In the minutes of that convention the following are the reasons for locating the proposed college in New Haven:

1. The site is healthy and beautiful.
2. Its inhabitants are friendly, pious, generous and humane.
3. Its laws are salutary and protecting to all, without regard to complexion, etc., etc.

Arthur Tappan purchased a site here and offered \$1,000 (of the \$20,000 to be raised). But alas! on September 10, 1831, at a meeting called by the mayor and aldermen, notice was given that the manual labor college would not be tolerated; the pretext being that "it was auxiliary to the agitation against the municipal institution of slavery and incompatible with the prosperity, if not the existence of Yale college."

The fact of the matter is that the friends of the movement killed it by calling it a "college." At the town meeting only five men voted for it; Jocelyn, his brother and three others. So much for one side.

Judge Cleaveland's father, the Rev. James Bradford Cleaveland, a direct descendant of Gov. William Bradford, was the pastor of the South Egremont (Mass.) Congregational Church during the stormy days

of the Civil War. Here we find him thundering against the devilish institution of slavery, to a congregation, some of whom sat and read pro-slavery papers in their pews while he was doing it. Some of them unable to stand the fire got up and went out slamming the pew doors behind them.

Pastor Cleaveland was young and fearless and his wife ably backed him up. It was under the inspiration of those days that Mrs. Cleaveland first touched her lyre in the cause of human freedom. Here in this Berkshire village, contemporaneous with the rebirth of a nation, and of human freedom, was born Livingston W. Cleaveland. There are some things that a man cannot be responsible for. He cannot choose his parents nor the time nor the place of his birth.

For this man . . . to draw distinctions because of complexion he would have to change his blood, and be recreant to the trust of a noble heritage. His father with the insight of a prophet, wrote to Abraham Lincoln the following letter:

"Sir—Equal to, the exigency of the times, your name will hereafter be as conspicuous in the history of this nation, as is that of Moses in the sacred history of this nation. Moses is honored as a Liberator; that such may be your renowned title on the future page of the republic now so ably presided over by you is the prayer of millions."

The date of Pastor Cleaveland's letter is November 22, 1861. The date of the letter of emancipation, which gave Lincoln this very title, and fixed his place in history, is September 22, 1862.

The spirit which animated the father animated the son—equality of men before the law. There is a vacancy—who shall fill it? The man best able, all things else considered. It made no difference to him whether he was a Hebrew, an American, an Irishman, a colored man or to what nationality he belonged.

The incident under discussion is an application of a larger thought—an inherited belief that all men are created equal. If this particular application of an almost forgotten truth costs Judge Cleaveland anything, he may console himself with the knowledge that he pays infinitely less than the Jocelyns and Cleavelands paid for the same principle a generation ago. . . .

Dated this 22d day of September, 1903, the forty-first anniversary of the signing of the Proclamation of Emancipation.

ALEX. F. IRVINE.

In Samuel J. May's "Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict," he stated that at the Philadelphia Convention, held in December, 1833, which instituted the American Anti-Slavery Society, Rev. Simeon Smith Jocelyn with Garrison and Whittier were appointed on the committee of ten to draft a declaration of the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Oliver Johnson, in his "Garrison and His Times," refers to the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn as the first white man in this country to conceive the idea of a college for colored men. He was also a friend and sympathizer with Prudence Crandall, whose efforts to allow colored girls to attend her young ladies' academy resulted in fierce opposition, in the passage of the so-called "Black Law" by the Connecticut Legislature in 1833, and in the destruction of her school.

At the memorial service held in the New England Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Sunday, October 19, 1879, in memory of Rev. Mr. Jocelyn, Henry Ward Beecher said: "Father Jocelyn was a prototype of Moses. Both were burden-bearers and both were friends of the poor and oppressed, and their friends because they were slaves."

John H. Stearns said of him: "Few men could look abroad on the field of nature and appreciate, with such refined taste and delicate discrimination, its beauty, its grandeur, its living wonders and sublime phenomenon as Father Jocelyn did. Few men could see God in nature, in all the manifest glories of his attributes and being as he did. He, indeed, saw God in clouds and heard him in the winds, and saw in the gardens and landscapes of each a foreshadowing of heaven's flowery land and the pure river from the fountains of life."

The following regarding Nathaniel Jocelyn, the brother of Simeon Smith Jocelyn, also appears in a biographical pamphlet. "Mr. Jocelyn was a quiet yet cordial sympathizer with the slaves. The story of the Amistad Africans who were captured by the Spaniards for slaves and brought into the port of New Haven is a matter of history and familiar to all. Mr. Jocelyn was much interested in their behalf and painted the picture of the African leader, Cinquez, which now hangs in the rooms of the Historical Society in New Haven, where is also a fine painting of the artist himself, by Harry I. Thompson."

Upon his death, January 13, 1881, in New Haven, Conn., at the age of eighty-four, the *New York Journal of Commerce* said of him: "Fifty years ago the name of Jocelyn was better known on the face of a bank note than the name of the bank itself. His portraits were among the cleverest works of the kind produced in this country. He was the founder of the most

celebrated of the bank note companies and was a leader in the highest style of art for more than two generations."

#### SKETCH OF SLAVERY DAYS IN TORRINGTON.

(From the *Evening Register*, Torrington, Conn., February 15, 1913.)

Lincoln's birthday fittingly calls for thoughtful review of the dark page of national history which formed the preface of those blood-stained pages of civil strife.

In Torrington the people glory in the fact that John Brown, the martyr in the cause of liberty, was born on their own hills. They point with pride to the sacrifice he made for the sake of the slave,—a sacrifice, which in spite of the rashness of the undertaking was instrumental in arousing the North to a sense of its duty.

It may be news to many, although it is a part of local history, that an emancipation proclamation was proclaimed in Torrington 75 years before that which bore the signature of Abraham Lincoln.

The records of the first church in Torrington show that Phoebe, a colored woman, probably a slave, in the employ of Joel Thrall, united with that religious body in 1756. Deacon John Whiting and William and Matthew Grant owned another female slave, a sister of the other. This one became so old and unfit for service that instead of "turning her out to pasture," as was talked of, they hired a colored man by the name of Jude Freeman to take care of her, paying him a yearly subscription.

In 1787 Abijah Holbrook came to Torrington from Massachusetts and started a grist mill. He brought with him two slaves, Jacob Prince and Ginne, his wife. The air he breathed here was so pure and free that it affected his conscience, and of his own free will, he gave them their freedom by his emancipation proclamation which is a matter of record and which reads as follows:

"Know all men by these presents that I, Abijah Holbrook, of Torrington, in the county of Litchfield and state of Connecticut, being influenced by motives of humanity and benevolence, believing that all mankind by nature are entitled to equal liberty and freedom; and whereas I the said Holbrook agreeable to the laws and customs of this state and the owner and possessor of two certain negroes which are of that class that are called slaves for life: namely, Jacob Prince, a male negro, and Ginne, a female, wife of said Jacob; and whereas the said negroes to this time have served me with faithfulness and fidelity, and they being now in the prime and vigor of life, and appear to be well qualified as to understanding and economy to maintain and support themselves by their own industry, and they manifesting a great desire to be delivered from slavery and bondage:

"I therefore the said Abijah Holbrook, do by these presents freely and absolutely emancipate the said Jacob and Ginne, and they are hereby discharged from all authority, title, claim, control and demand that I the said Holbrook now have or ever had in or unto the persons or

services of them the said Jacob and Ginne, and they from and after the date hereof shall be entitled to their liberty and freedom, and to transact business for themselves, in their own names and for their own benefit and use.

"To witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 18th day of August A. D. 1798."

The attitude of the people in Litchfield County towards the colored people who lived among them was very much like that of the people of the South to-day. They were expected to attend church as all good people in those days were, but the church fathers had the forethought to provide in the churches at Goshen and Torrington what the worldly folks called "nigger pews," which were built in the rear gallery and were boarded up on the sides and back so that the dark-skinned occupants could neither see nor be seen by the rest of the congregation. Jacob Prince having "experienced religion," was admitted to membership in the Goshen Congregational Church, but found that even that display of Christian endeavor failed to qualify him for a seat among the white folks, and it grieved him sorely. Finally he refused to come to church and submit to that treatment, but kept the spiritual fire burning on his own hearth by inviting the other colored folk to hold prayer meetings at his own home. Whereupon the authorities of the Goshen church actually excommunicated him.

At the Torrington church the same provision was made for colored folks in the rear gallery, but Rev. Samuel J. Mills showed his own broad-mindedness by seating the dark-skinned members of his flock in his own pew.

Anti-slavery sentiment was rife in Litchfield County following the admission of Missouri, a slave state, into the Union. This was in 1812-20. The first anti-slavery society was organized in Boston, Jan. 1, 1832, and was followed by the organization of a similar organization in Philadelphia in December, 1833. In January, 1837, invitations were sent all over Litchfield County for an anti-slavery meeting to be held in Wolcottville for the organization of a county society. Slavery sentiment was so strong that the members of the committee in charge found all churches and halls both public and private, closed against them. As a last resort they met in a barn which was filled from top to bottom. Men were piled on the hay mows, standing in the stables and feed bins, roosting on the rafters and filling every available foot of space.

Roger S. Mills, of New Hartford, was the chairman of the meeting which was opened with prayer by Rev. Daniel Coe, of Winsted. The officers nominated were as follows:—president, Roger S. Mills, New Hartford; vice presidents, Erastus Lyman, Goshen; General Daniel D. Brinsmade, Washington; General Uriel Tuttle, Torrington, and Jonathan Coe, Winsted; secretary, R. M. Chipman, Harwinton; treasurer, Dr. E. D. Hudson, Torrington.

While the audience was listening to an address by Rev. Nathaniel Colon, unsuspecting of danger, a mob which had been organizing in the center

of the village, led by a gang of toughs which in these early days had gathered around the grog shops and had earned a reputation for lawlessness, made a descent upon the barn, which they surrounded and then let loose a pandemonium of yells, catcalls and threats, mingled with the beating of tin pans, blowing of horns and ringing of cow bells. The fire alarm bell in the tower of the Congregational Church was also started and this combination broke up the abolitionist meeting. The men as they came out were treated with all sorts of indignities and some were threatened with bodily harm.

As a refuge, and by invitation of the representatives from Torrington, the body separated itself from the crowd and went to the church in Torrington which was thrown open for their use. Deacon Ebenezer Rood, of Torrington, was at the meeting, and as he was driving out of the village, the mob set upon him and attempted to overturn his sleigh.

The deacon admitted that he never came so near swearing in his life. His righteous indignation overcame his fears for his personal safety, and rising in his sleigh he yelled in the face of his persecutors, "Rattle your pans, hoot and toot, ring your bells, consarn ye, you pesky fools, if it does you any good." With that he hit the old mare a cut with the whip that started her on the run, knocked down the men who had grabbed his horse and who were trying to upset the sleigh, and Deacon Rood was last seen flying up the Torrington hills with the ends of his long red tippet waving defiance to the mob in the distance.

The story of the deacon's adventure and his address to the drunken rioters was the slogan for a new stand by the attendants at the anti-slavery meeting. Fear ruled no longer, but a resolution to work and labor for the cause at whatever cost was adopted. The session lasted two days and the Litchfield County anti-slavery society became from that time one of the forces which had much to do with the shaping of a strong abolition sentiment, which found its climax in the gallant response to the call of Abraham Lincoln for volunteers.

#### PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

Now we come to one of the tragic and dramatic episodes of the anti-slavery history. A beautiful, attractive and accomplished woman of thirty-one was persecuted in a Connecticut town and forced to give up a school for colored girls. Heart-broken and broken in spirit, she left the state and dropped completely out of sight. Nearly fifty years later she was discovered a lone old woman on the Kansas prairie. And then the state which crushed her young womanhood, cheered her old age by a pension. That is the tragedy of human life. The world recognizes us only after we have or are about to cross the Great Divide.

Connecticut need not be ashamed of her part in the anti-slavery conflict. One western county was the birthplace of John Brown and the rearing place of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Henry Ward Beecher. And a western county was the stage on which one of America's heroines nobly played her part in the drama of life.

John Brown was born in Litchfield County; Lyman Beecher raised his family in Litchfield; and Canterbury, the scene of Prudence Crandall's heroism, was a Sleepy Hollow sort of a town, three miles from Plainfield. Born in Hopkinton, R. I., in 1803, Prudence Crandall was educated in the Friends School in Providence, R. I. She came of a sturdy Quaker stock, and made a brilliant record as a teacher in Plainfield, Conn. In 1831 she was requested to open a boarding and finishing school for wealthy young ladies in Canterbury. It drew a constituency representing the best families, not only from the town, but also from the country round about and from remote sections of New England. It flourished like the traditional green bay tree. Clergymen and prominent citizens of Canterbury comprised its board of visitors. But she admitted Miss Sarah Harris, the seventeen-year-old daughter of a prosperous colored farmer, who lived near Canterbury. Her sister was Miss Crandall's domestic. Miss Harris was a good scholar, pious and virtuous and a member of the Canterbury Church. I presume that the Quaker teacher saw the possibilities of the ambitious colored girl and thought that she should have the chance and opportunity to develop her womanhood the same as other American girls. At first, she just desired to give one colored girl the same chance and opportunity that the white girls had; but the trend of events precipitated a crisis that aroused her Quaker conscience and caused her to stand forth as a champion of human rights.

A protest arose. Mrs. Harris, the wife of the white Episcopal minister, informed Miss Crandall that if she admitted colored girls her school could not be sustained. Mrs. Harris (white) had two brunette daughters, while Miss Harris (colored) was exceedingly light in complexion. Miss Crandall asked Mrs. Harris whether she dreaded lest Miss Harris be mistaken for one of her daughters. Protests kept pouring in. Finally Miss Crandall decided to transform her school into a seminary for colored girls and announced in the *Liberator* on March 2, 1833, that on the



first Monday in April she would open a school for "young ladies and little misses of color." This added fuel to the fire. A town meeting was called March 9, in a church. Rev. Samuel May of Brooklyn, Conn., the father of Louise May Alcott, and Friend Arnold Buffum, a lecturing agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, came over to take her part. Rev. Mr. May and Friend Buffum could hardly squeeze their way through the jammed aisles of the church. Some of the townsmen shook their fists in the faces of these champions of Miss Crandall.

The Boston Literary Letter for the Springfield *Republican* on March 19, 1913, says "a certain Judge Adams offered a resolution, which was almost unanimously voted, informing the world at large, which till then knew little of Canterbury, that the 'obvious tendency' of her school would be to collect within the town of Canterbury large numbers of persons, from other states, whose characters and habits might be various and unknown to us; thereby rendering insecure the persons, property and reputations of our citizens."

A few colored school girls learning arithmetic and geography in their town could have had no more injurious effect on their persons, property and reputation than the presence in Canterbury of so many guinea hens or pouter pigeons.

Five days after the meeting, the town officers called to see the Quaker teacher. She saucily replied to their remonstrances, "Moses had a black wife."

On the first Monday in April, 1833, she opened her school in a less prominent place. Nearly twenty colored girls came from Boston, Providence, Philadelphia and New York. Boycott was declared on her by storekeepers, peddlers and stage drivers. Grocers refused to sell her eggs and salt fish. Ruffians poisoned her well. Neighbors refused to permit her to use their wells. Boys occasionally pelted her house with stones. Her father, a timid and inoffensive Quaker, was threatened and terrified. He and an old Quaker brought her fresh water every day. A colored stage driver from Norwich brought colored students and abolitionists to visit the school. During this trying ordeal Miss Crandall was always firm, tranquil and imperturbable.

Finally, on May 24, 1833, the Connecticut legislature passed the "Black Law," which read in part: "No person shall set up

or establish in this State any school, academy or literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons who are not inhabitants of this State, nor instruct or teach in any school or literary institution whatsoever in this State, nor harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such school, academy, or literary institution, any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent in writing, first obtained, of a majority of the civil authorities, and also of the Selectmen of the town, in which such school, academy or literary institution is situated, etc." Bells were rung and a cannon was fired. Bonfires and jubilations such as follow a college football victory or boat race followed in Canterbury.

Miss Crandall was arrested and brought before the Common Justice Court of the town. She refused to allow May and Buffum to stand bail and spent a night in jail, in the former cell of Watkins, a wife murderer. The tale went far and wide. Rev. Mr. May and Mr. George W. Benson gave the required bond the next day.

The constitutionality of the act was tested in the Superior Court, August 23; the jury disagreed. A few months later, October 3, 1833, she was tried again. Chief Justice Daggett harangued the jury, declared the free Negro was a person and not a citizen, and she was found guilty. Then the law was brought before the Court of Errors in Hartford on July 22, 1834. The Hon. W. W. Ellsworth and Hon. Calvin Goddard argued against the constitutionality of the Black Law. The court could not brave the storm of unpopularity by deciding in her favor and could not go on record as declaring an unconstitutional law as constitutional. So the case was dropped as there was a flaw in the indictment. It didn't state that she had been refused permission by the town selectmen; in fact she didn't ask for it. Then the case went back to the town justice. She maintained a sublime indifference, and used the keen blade of sarcasm.

The Hon. Henry Strong assisted May with legal suggestions, and Arthur Tappan of New York supplied funds for the Rev. Mr. May to maintain a newspaper in behalf of Miss Crandall and the anti-slavery cause. Mr. Charles C. Burleigh of Plainfield assisted in the editing of the paper and his brother, William

H. Burleigh, taught in the school. The outer building was set on fire a year and a half after the starting of the school, but the fire was discovered in time and quenched.

The crisis came on September 9, 1834, when angry citizens beat in the windows of Miss Crandall's house with heavy clubs and iron bars; five window sashes were demolished and ninety panes of glass were completely broken. For the first time she lost her nerve. Rev. Mr. May was called in consultation and it was decided to abandon the school.

A short time before this incident she had married Calvin Philleo, a Baptist minister, and later she was lost sight of for nearly fifty years. Bravely, sweetly and serenely, for two years she stood up under the continual fusillade of criticism and persecution, which must have been a physical and mental strain for her. It must have somewhat broken her spirit and crushed her youthful idealism when her cherished life work was nipped in the bud. Rev. Sherrod Soule's lecture on Prudence Crandall pictures her as a modern heroine.

Finally, in 1880, an old woman was discovered living in poverty in a box house on the prairie at Elk Falls, Kans. She was Prudence Crandall. The selectmen of her town granted her a pension of five or six hundred dollars a year. Mark Twain, Dr. Joseph Twichell and other prominent Connecticut citizens wrote her cheering letters. She passed away at her home in Elk Falls on January 28, 1890. President Woodrow Wilson has paid a tribute to her, and in September, 1912, in the New Haven Day parade, a float representing Prudence Crandall and her colored pupils was roundly applauded. She has passed into history.

#### JOHN BROWN.

John Brown's career has been so well covered in Frank Sanborn's "Recollections of Seventy Years," and in "The Life and Public Services of George Luther Stearns," by Frank Preston Stearns, in the writings of Colonel Higginson and Frederick Douglass, and in the biographies of Mr. Sanborn, Mr. O. G. Villard and Dr. DuBois, that I shall not give a detailed account of his life.

I have had conversation with the late Mrs. George Luther Stearns, the late Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Mr.

Frank B. Sanborn, who knew Brown personally. I remember the October afternoon in 1898 when Mr. Dean of the Harvard Divinity School and I walked over to Tuft's College, Medford, and listened spellbound, as Mrs. Stearns, with radiant countenance, for two hours told us of John Brown and anti-slavery days and showed us the bust of John Brown, taken by Mr. Edward A. Brackett, the sculptor, who was sent by Mrs. Stearns to Virginia to reproduce the likeness of the Harpers Ferry hero in marble. And she closed her conversation by exclaiming "Those were heroic days!" I desire, however, to correct a few false impressions regarding John Brown.

Some have regarded Brown as an impracticable fanatic, but I think that Mr. Frank Preston Stearns sized him up on page 129 of his work when he said, "John Brown was a Cromwellian Ironsides introduced in the nineteenth century for a special purpose. He looked at the world with the eyes of a Puritan of the Long Parliament, and judged it accordingly. His ideas of morality, private and public, were not relative, but absolute."

Then we must remember that Brown was essentially a man of action; that he was living in an age when the anti-slavery and pro-slavery forces were arrayed in a bitter strife; that the New England conscience was engaged in a struggle with the personal interests of the slave holders; that the passions of men were stirred; that five free-state men were killed in Kansas, and that the conflict in Kansas was inevitable and unavoidable.

Brown's victories at Black Jack and Ossawatimie prevented the Missourians from invading that section of Kansas again. Brown's share in the Pottawatomie affair has been passed upon pro and con. The burning of Lawrence, and other acts of the border ruffians, convinced Brown that it was time to take drastic action against the Doyles and Shermans. Some claim that no messenger had been sent to John Brown, but Mr. Frank Sanborn says that while there was no unanimity of agreement in Kansas as to who the particular messenger was, that nevertheless nearly every one in Kansas who had been questioned agreed that a messenger had been sent.

Others have regarded him as a wanderer upon the face of the earth. Though he traveled considerably over the North, East and West, he followed one occupation, that of sheep raising and

wool growing, for thirty years. That indicates some fixedness of purpose. He was a very successful sheep farmer and traveled naturally where he could best raise and market his goods. The fact that the wool growers of Ohio selected him as their agent in the Springfield experiment shows their confidence in him.

George Luther Stearns gave him nearly \$10,000 to maintain liberty in Kansas, supplying him with \$5,000 worth of rifles, etc. Stearns later supplied Brown with pistols for his Virginia raid and told Brown to draw on him for \$8,000 more, when he needed it, which Brown never did, thus showing his integrity as a man. Brown was never avaricious. Mr. Stearns did not know that Brown intended to attack Harpers Ferry, and Sanborn, Gerrit Smith and Frederick Douglass, with whom he talked the matter over, questioned the wisdom of his plans.

That there was a method in Brown's plan is shown by the fact that Gabriel, the slave insurrectionist, conceived of a similar plan over half a century before, namely, to arm the slaves and rush to the mountains of Virginia, using them as citadels and vantage points for striking. But the slaves did not rush to Brown's assistance. He tarried too long at Harpers Ferry, was captured after a desperate fight, in which he displayed remarkable coolness under fire, was calm and serene during his trial, calmly and heroically walked to his execution—kissing a colored child on the way to the scaffold. But the world knows how his raid precipitated the Civil War, and how the song of "John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on," inspired and nerved the Union soldiers.

We finite mortals will never know how far Brown was an instrument in the hands of Providence. Some men doubt the guiding hand of Providence in the affairs of men; but the Hebrew seers, the Greek and Roman poets and philosophers believed in some overruling power which balked and interfered with the best laid plans of men. And even modern students of history are forced to recognize that "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will."

In studying the phenomena of human history, we recognize that insignificant causes work miraculous effects. Take the greatest miracle of human history—the rise of Christianity. How a despised sect of a despised race, whose leader died an

ignominious death on the cross and whose followers were largely untutored fishermen and artisans, could effect a religious revolution in the Roman Empire and finally dominate the religious life of the civilized world for seventeen successive centuries, transcends the power of human analysis and defies human calculation. The trend of human history tends to the belief that there is a Master Mind behind the curtains shifting the scenes.

I will close this discussion by quoting the words of one who knew John Brown intimately, who for threescore years has been identified with the literary life of America, who was an intrepid anti-slavery leader and one of the founders of the Concord School of Philosophy. I refer to Mr. Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, Mass., a man of unusual insight into men and motives.

John Brown, though born in New England, and strongly marked with the New England seriousness of mood, had spent most of his half-century in new and wild regions, intimate with nature, and directing other men rather than guided or trained by them. He was profound in his thinking, and had formed his opinions rather by observation than by reading, though well versed in a few books, chief among which was the Bible. He was, in truth, a Calvinistic Puritan, born a century or two after the fashion had changed; but as ready as those of Bradford's or Cromwell's times had been to engage in any work of the Lord to which he felt himself called. He saw with unusual clearness the mischievous relation to republican institutions of Negro slavery, and made up his fixed mind that it must be abolished; not merely, or even mostly, for the relief of the slaves, but for the restoration of the Republic to its original ideal—freedom under law for all, white, black, yellow or red. He regarded the Indian and the Negro simply as men; and though he did not expect of them what he expected of his own race and faith, he believed that all their rights should be respected. He had seen the country coming more and more into the belief that slavery was a permanent institution—not as Jefferson and Washington had looked on it, something that must gradually yield to the spirit of freedom embodied in the American ideal.

He had formed various plans for attacking slavery where it was apparently strongest, but really weakest—in the midst of the large plantations. The effort to give the evil institution renewed vitality by annexing new territory for colonization by slaveholders, alarmed him in the Mexican war, and aroused him to decisive action when Kansas was opened by the slave-masters, then in control of the national government, to the blighting introduction and spread of negro slavery. He saw the proper remedy of this mischief—the colonization of the territory by free laborers—as soon as any man had seen it; and his four sons were among the early settlers in Kansas. He had joined them there, in October,

1855, with arms and supplies intended for the defense of them and of other pioneers against the invaders from the south.

Regarding the Pottawatomie execution, Sanborn says:

I have seen no reason to doubt that this execution was one of the sad necessities of the times, fully justified in Brown's mind and that of most of the residents in Kansas. But it was made the occasion for much vilification of Brown and his friends by the men whom the fame of Brown had eclipsed, or who had honestly differed from him in their judgment of what the need of the time was. The opinions of good men will always differ, I suppose, as to the merit or demerit of Brown in ordering these executions, and seeing them performed. It is the belief of the best authorities in Kansas history that the men slain had a sufficient, though irregular trial. That they had well earned their violent death under their own code of violence is now quite clear; the pretense of their innocence is a sham, invented by men who knew better and accepted by ignorant or half-informed persons, who would justify the killing of a burglar, but shudder at the wild justice of lynch law,—sometimes the best code for semi-barbarous communities. I have in my book cited the testimony and opinions of the Free State men of Kansas; but here is a bit of evidence that will be new to most of my readers. General Shelby, a Missourian, who joined his pro-slavery neighbors in trying to force slavery upon Kansas, and who rose to be a brigadier in the Confederate service, was afterward "reconstructed" and made United States Marshal of western Missouri. To a friend of mine, who knew him well while holding that office, and residing at Kansas City in Missouri he said in substance:

"Brown was right and did just what he ought to have done in killing the Doyleys and others at Pottawatomie. I would have done in Missouri what he did in Kansas. I was myself in Kansas fighting the Free State men—had no business there on any such errand, and ought to have been shot for being there. John Brown was the only man then in Kansas who seemed to realize fully the situation. He would have shot me perhaps, if he had met me in Kansas,—and it would have been no more than his duty."

Regarding Brown's manner at his trial, Sanborn says:

In the years when I knew Brown, this calmness of manner sometimes gave way to animated speech and gestures,—so deeply did he feel the coldness of those he addressed on his one great subject; but on his trial, the mildness of his earlier manner returned to him, and his last speech was delivered with all the quiet and moderation which Mr. Case describes. This mild and humble Christian, this practical disciple of Jefferson, was a pioneer and hero of emancipation. Others had much share in that work—but its two chief martyrs were John Brown and Abraham Lincoln—of

whom one began and the other completed the forcible freeing of 4,000,000 slaves in the United States. In oratory, too, their names will stand connected; for Emerson declared that Brown's speech after conviction and Lincoln's Gettysburg oration were the high water mark of eloquence in the nineteenth century.

Regarding Brown's results, Sanborn says:

But the Lord knows his own soldiers, and the far-reaching results of Brown's action in Virginia are now well known of all men. He struck at American slavery the severest blow it had ever received; and his tragic experiment, though for a few months it seemed to have failed, was a great hastening cause of that bloody rebellion in which slavery perished. Brown was executed December 2d, 1859; three years and thirty days afterwards President Lincoln issued the final decree of emancipation; and in a few years from the date of Brown's death, not a slave remained in bondage, of the four millions for whose redemption he had died. Seldom in human history have such great effects so rapidly followed magnanimous deeds.

Brown was an instrument in the hands of Providence to uproot and destroy an evil institution which had never appeared more boastful, more flourishing and more permanent than when only eight years before final emancipation, Brown entered the broad domain of Kansas, which the slaveholders by force and fraud, were holding as their own. "I shall not be forward to think him mistaken in his methods," said Thoreau, "who quickest succeeds to liberate the slave." Can any method be found that could have done that work quicker than Brown's? Within six years of his execution there was not a slave held in bondage in the United States; but for Brown's career it might have been sixty years before we reached that result. His attack and its consequences showed both North and South the gulf on whose brink they were standing. The infuriated slave masters made haste to break up the Union, which they saw might ultimately destroy their system. Put thus to the test, our millions of the North were not slow to say: "We choose Union without slavery, even at the cost of indefinite bloodshed, to any further union with slave masters and traitors." The ancient belief was again justified, that in battle that army must win in whose vanguard the first victim devoted himself to death. Led on by a foreordination he felt but did not understand, Brown gave his life for the cause destined to succeed.

Unlike that French marshal who "spent a long life carrying aid to the stronger side," Brown lent his good sword to that which seemed the weaker, but which had God for its reserve. He was one of those rare types, easily passing into the mythical, to which belonged David, the shepherd; Tell, the mountaineer; Wallace, the outlaw; and Hofer, the Tyrolese innkeeper. Born of the people, humble of rank and obscure in early life, these men (if men they all were) drew toward them



the wrath of the powerful, the love of the multitude; they were hunted, prisoned, murdered,—but every blow struck at them only made them dearer to the heart of the humble. By these, and not by coteries of scholars in their libraries, the fame of heroes is established. In heroes, faults are pardoned, crimes forgotten, exploits magnified—their life becomes a poem or a scripture—they enter on an enviable earthly immortality.

FOOT NOTES.—William H. Russell, the father of Mr. Talcott Russell of New Haven, was interested in John Brown's Kansas movement, and was one of the Sharpe's Rifles men. John Brown took dinner at his house and Mr. Talcott Russell saw him as a boy. Brown's hair stood straight up then.

Rev. A. F. Beard, D.D., LL.D., of Norwalk, Conn., the honorary secretary of the American Missionary Association and editor of the *American Missionary Magazine*, brought to a completion the work of the abolitionists. He was the statesman and scholar, who for a quarter of a century, as corresponding secretary of the American Missionary Association shaped its policy regarding the Negro. He saw that the race question was to be solved not by the degradation but by the elevation of the black man, and recognized that the mind and heart, as well as the hand, must be trained. His address before the State Teacher's Association at Scotia Seminary, Concord, N. C., in June, 1904, inspired all who were present by its buoyant hopefulness and lofty idealism. His kindly sympathy has cheered many a struggling teacher and preacher in the South. Rev. C. J. Ryder, D.D., the corresponding secretary, with a virile manly personality, and the late H. W. Hubbard, treasurer, a business man with a martial spirit and humane heart, were associated with Dr. Beard for over a score of years.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### *A Word Concerning Charles Sumner—Hon. Charles Sumner Bird and Frank K. Bird's Connection with Charles Sumner.*

The Greeks and Romans revered their heroes, deified them and called them demi-gods. The Hebrews harked back to the prophets. The reason is because great men reveal the possibilities of the human personality. They recreate their characters in the hearts or minds of the youth of the land.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, America's favorite poet, whose "Paul Revere's Ride" and "Building of the Ship" captivated school boys and girls of my day, in his memorable poem on "The Psalm of Life" said:

Lives of great men all remind us,  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And departing leave behind us,  
Footprints on the sands of time.

Footprints, that perhaps another,  
Sailing o'er life's troubled main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing shall take heart again.

The poet has again well said:

The paths by great men reached and kept,  
Were not attained by sudden flights,  
But they while their companions slept,  
Were toiling upwards in the night.

Such a man was Charles Sumner. Like the noble Gracchi of Rome, he and Wendell Phillips were aristocrats who championed the cause of oppressed humanity. With his Puritan ancestry, his Harvard culture, his lucrative practice, and the impression produced by his Fourth of July and Phi Beta Kappa addresses, a brilliant career was offered Sumner. But he and Phillips sacrificed ease and social popularity for the poor slave. The civilizations of the North and the South were at variance. The

fundamental ideas underlying the American and French revolutions were at variance with human slavery.

The great God-like Daniel Webster compromised in his speech of March 7, 1850. The noble Seward would denounce slavery and pinch snuff with the slave holders afterwards. What was needed in the United States Senate was a man of brains and personality who was an uncompromising idealist. Such a man was Charles Sumner. Ex-Governor Curtis Guild of Massachusetts, in his splendid Centennial address in Faneuil Hall, January, 1911, thought that Sumner was too severe. But nothing less than a rugged adamant spirit like Sumner could cope with American slavery, whose aggressive upholders were entrenched in the press, pulpit and public opinion of the land. A weaker character would have been like putty in the hands of the Southern oligarchy.

To his last, Sumner was the bosom friend of a colored man, the late George T. Downing of Newport, R. I., who was by his bedside when Sumner died beseeching Judge Rockwell Hoar not to let his civil rights bill fail.

Sumner's speech on "The Grandeur of Nations," indicates that his intellect was massive and his scholarship profound. His powerful intellect was backed by a colossal physique and sustained by the moral strength of a Hampden. With his lofty stature, his noble brow, his thoughtful eyes, his grave, serious but kindly face, Sumner was a majestic specimen of the Divine, incarnated in the flesh. Paul was the hero of the apostolic crusade; Luther of the Protestant Reformation; Cromwell of the Puritan Reformation; and Mirabeau of the French revolution prelude. But there was no one hero of the anti-slavery crusade, but a group of heroes. Seldom has such a brilliant and versatile body of men and women consecrated their talents and gifts to a single cause. Garrison, with Calvin's moral ardour; Phillips, one of the most graceful and forceful orators known to history; Sumner, a profound statesman and scholar; Harriet Beecher Stowe, who sent her name as a novelist around the civilized world; Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Parker, the most powerful American preachers of their day and generation; Samuel Ringgold Ward and Frederick Douglass, the two greatest orators the Negro race has ever possessed; George

Luther Stearns and Gerrit Smith, two philanthropists, and John Brown, a Cromwell in the rough—these were the heroes of the anti-slavery movement.

And then there were, too, talented and gifted writers and speakers, like Julia Ward Howe, Edna D. Cheney, Lucretia Mott, Lidia Maria Child, Mary Livermore, Maria White, John Greenleaf Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, Parker, Pillsbury, Rev. Samuel May, Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Frank B. Sanborn, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Starr King, the most magnetic preacher of the West; and men potent in politics like Frank A. Bird, Gov. John A. Andrews and Anson Burlingame, lending their talents and prestige to the cause.

Then there was a Lincoln, a wise pilot to calmly guide the destinies of the country during the Civil War, and generals like Grant, Sumner, Sheridan, and Meade, to lead the army, and an admiral like Farragut to lead the navy to victory; Erickson with his *Monitor*, called the cheese box; Benjamin Butler with his eagle insight and "contraband of war" phrase, and nearly two hundred thousand brave, black soldiers to rush in in the very thick of the conflict. Was it any wonder that the conscience of the country was aroused and that victory finally perched on the banners of the Stars and Stripes?

A WORD CONCERNING HON. CHARLES SUMNER BIRD, THE PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR IN MASSACHUSETTS, AND HIS FATHER'S CONNECTION WITH CHARLES SUMNER.

The presidential campaign of 1912 was remarkable from the fact that the colored voters were perplexed and in doubt as to which one of the presidential candidates was the best friend of the colored race. But Mr. Charles S. Bird, the Progressive candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, was a man of such strength of mind and grandeur of soul, that I must pause a moment in my chronicle of the deeds and achievements of the black man to say a word regarding him.

FOOT NOTE.—The late Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, the late Mrs. Estelle M. H. Merrill and the late Mrs. Joshua Kendall of Cambridge were three ladies who perpetuated the noble spirit of Harriet Beecher Stowe and were friendly to the higher aspiration of the colored race.

It was my good fortune to meet a few of the anti-slavery leaders and to meet some descendants of other abolitionists, and I discovered that while kindly disposed towards the colored man, many had lost the ardent faith in the black man's capacities and possibilities which their fathers had.

A few, however, and among them Mr. Charles S. Bird of East Walpole, Mass., included the colored brother in their optimistic faith in humanity's future. I met Mr. Bird in the spring of 1912 and had quite an interview with him. I was first impressed with his intellectual powers as he expressed his views upon public men and public questions. His conversation indicated that he had a comprehensive grasp upon the modern industrial, economic, political, social and educational problems, that his mind was of statesmanlike caliber and that he combined the statesman's grasp of the whole, with the business man's mastery of detail.

Finally his conversation drifted to the working man and the Negro, and then I was impressed with his faith in humanity, his sympathy with the black man's striving and his faith in the black man as a part of humanity. As I rode back to Boston, I thought of the interview that I had had with the brilliant, forceful and magnetic manufacturer. His creed might be summed up, "Every man, whether the son of an aristocrat or the son of a ditch-digger or the son of a slave, every man regardless of his race, color, rank or religion should have a chance to rise in life and develop all that is highest and best in himself." And this I believe was the creed of Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner and Phillips Brooks.

That my estimate of Mr. Bird is no picture of fancy or dream of the imagination, may be gleaned from the following account, from the pen of Frank B. Sanborn, of Mr. Bird's father's connection with Charles Sumner and the anti-slavery cause. Mr. Sanborn was a staunch friend of John Brown and he has ever remained a staunch friend of the colored race, and his endorsement carries great weight. This is what Mr. Sanborn says:

CHARLES SUMNER BIRD AND HIS FATHER.

Francis William Bird, the father of the candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, was one of the earliest, most faithful and most trusted friends of Charles Sumner, and did more than any other single person,

unless it were his friend Henry Wilson, to make the first election of Sumner possible. He supported him in every reelection, and stood by him when his own Republican party in Massachusetts, under the lead of General Butler and the Ames family, gave a vote of censure on Sumner for one of the wisest acts of his public life, which the State afterwards rescinded from very shame.

Like Sumner, F. W. Bird was bred a Whig, when the Massachusetts Whigs were anti-slavery as they were in 1838. When, under the treacherous lead of Webster, the Whigs became pro-slavery, as practically they did in 1848, Mr. Bird joined Sumner, Wilson and C. F. Adams in leaving the Whig party and laying the anti-slavery foundation of the Republican party of 1854. It was this revolt from Webster's pro-slavery policy, calling itself the Free Soil party, that made Sumner's first election possible.

Mr. Bird was the most effective promoter of the nomination and election of Governor Andrew in the autumn of 1860, when Andrew was attacked as the friend of John Brown, and he supported all the emancipation measures of Andrew and Sumner and Abraham Lincoln. He was one of the founders and supporters of the Boston *Commonwealth*, which was started in 1862 to promote emancipation, and which I helped edit for five years from that time, until the emancipation policy was fully established, and the enlistment of Negro soldiers had aided in putting down the pro-slavery rebellion, as Lincoln always meant it should.

When the enemies of Sumner displaced him from the head of his Senate committee, and did what they could to expel him from the Republican party that he had helped to create, as Mr. Bird had, Mr. Bird and his friends became an independent party, and so continued until Sumner's death in 1874. They assisted every effort for the instruction and protection of the freedmen, favored Negro suffrage as a measure to avoid the evils of military government in the South, and continued to support it while false Republicans allowed the white race there to usurp the full control, and disfranchise the Negro voters in most of the rebel States.

Mr. Bird, Senior, named his son for Sumner, and he has steadily followed the anti-slavery principles of his father. Without taking a very active part in politics, as his father did, he has favored all measures of good government, and always opposed the swindling tariff, which has made of our old party of freedom a party of privilege and plutocracy. He has, like his father and all honest manufacturers, done justly by the hundreds in his employ, and will be voted for this year by thousands who know the difference between those who favor the interests of labor and principle, and those who make that cause a steppingstone to office. I voted for his father for Governor in 1872, when he took the place of Sumner as a candidate, with no chance of election; and I shall vote for the son this year, in spite of some difference of opinion on the merits of other men, because I see some chance of his election, in the present chaos of factions. I hope every colored citizen of the State will do the same;

for that oppressed class of our voters have no better friend than Charles Sumner Bird.

F. B. SANBORN.

CONCORD, MASS., Sept. 21, 1912.

The New York *Sun* took issue with Mr. Bird during the campaign and poked fun at him and his godfather, Charles Sumner. Mr. James R. Magenis, a Boston attorney, wrote a letter to the *Sun*, which eloquently paid tribute to the greatness of Mr. Bird and which was printed on the editorial page of the *Sun* with an editorial comment. The letter follows:

*To the Editor of The Sun:—*

SIR: The charm of the *Sun* of the past twenty-five years was that it would have its laugh and its gibe whether it invented a character to poke fun at, or took a figure in actual life to drape its humor on. The result has been that readers have learned your editorial page was replete with good nature, and if at times it was apparently too captious and critical of public men, it was evident good-natured raillery was the only indiscretion of which the *Sun* could be charged.

The *Sun* of to-day is much the *Sun* of old except it seems to me that it has lost a deal of its good nature. The name Roosevelt is too much of a nightmare with you, and for that reason, perhaps, you are a little unjust to the Progressive candidate for governor of Massachusetts. You do not know Mr. Bird. If you did you would treat him differently. Charles Sumner Bird is an exceptional man in many respects. He is independently wealthy, is a money-maker as a paper-maker, who, in his early years worked twelve hours per day, in his father's mills, and then and there learned that the coöperation of labor with capital was not properly appreciated by the latter. When he became manager of the mills he abolished twelve hours as a day's work, ran the mills twenty-four hours each day, placed three shifts of men at work, and placing each man on an eight-hour day, for which he paid him twelve-hour pay. He found by experience that three shifts of men, each on an eight-hour basis, were better for the men and better for the business. It was economically and humanely correct. That is the rule of his employment to-day, and he now controls four mills.

Again, when a man dies, having served Charles Sumner Bird as an employee, and it appears that there is a dependent widow with orphans, the salary of the dead man continues on the pay roll and is charged up against the maintenance charges of the business. No better epitaph can be written of any capitalist than the relatively recent words of Mr. Bird, addressing a widowed mother of a small family: "As long as you are Dan Costello's widow you will draw Dan Costello's pay." That statement illuminates Charles Sumner Bird, in whose mills there never has been a strike or even a serious discussion of labor problems.

Another feature of this kind of employer, whom the *Sun* would have us see through its funny glasses. When an old employee becomes super-

annuated and is retired, he goes out of the mills but his name continues on the pay roll as long as he lives. "An honest business should be honest to the men who have given the best they had in life to its service," says Mr. Bird.

This is the Progressive candidate for governor of Massachusetts. He believes in conservation of property, industry and the home, just as the *Sun* does, but he believes in the conservation of men, women and children first. You and he do not differ fundamentally only in those particulars where he reads out of the "Book of Life" a solemn, bounden obligation as a neighbor, which some of our later-day captains of industry have apparently overlooked.

Let us laugh with the *Sun*. We Bostonians love it for its sparkling brightness, we laugh with it at times, and again, at other times we laugh at it. Your Roosevelt discussions are far from discouraging. Ten years hence they will be positively humorous. Nevertheless the *Sun* is a light of good nature well worth keeping in view. It certainly cannot be charged with agreeing with its readers for the money that it makes.

JAMES P. MAGENIS.

BOSTON, MASS., October 4, 1912.

FOOT NOTES.—Other Massachusetts citizens have also distinguished themselves by their generous aid to the colored brothers. Ex-Senator Winthrop Murray Crane of Dalton, Mass., not only by his wisdom and sagacity became, like the late O. H. Platt of Connecticut, a leader in the United States Senate, but he will also live in Massachusetts history as a philanthropist.

Hon. Alexander McGregor, the treasurer and manager of the famous Houghton & Dutton's store of Boston, was the son of a poor Canadian minister. By his brains, pluck, manliness and magnetism, he has risen from the ranks and become a potent figure in the business and political life of Massachusetts. He is a member of the Governor's Council and president of the Massachusetts Republican Club. He has given employment to colored men and women and has been ever generous to deserving causes and individuals.

The country knows of the interest of the Stokes family too in colored education, and of the public spirit of Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Secretary of Yale University. Recently the family has contributed a generous sum, about \$5,000 or \$10,000, I believe, to enable Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones of the Bureau of Education to investigate the subject of Negro education.



## CHAPTER XL.

### *The Negro in Politics.*

History has witnessed two events during the past fifty years that make the marvels and wonders of the Arabian Nights pale into insignificance. That a race of barbarous, warring, feudal states could, within half a century, absorb and assimilate the complex European civilization, evolve into a formidable fighting force and crush on sea and land the mighty Russian Bear, who was dreaded by England, France and Germany, is a miracle of human history that is as marvelous as the rise of Mohammedanism and as unique as the battle of Marathon. Yet that is what the little island of Japan has done. That a race of African savages could, within half a century from its emergence from slavery, where it was regarded and treated as beasts of burden, absorb and assimilate the most complex civilization that the world has yet seen, and produce distinguished philosophers, theologians, scientists, mathematicians, linguists, orators, preachers, artists, poets, musicians and statesmen, that it could start out on its career of freedom hardly owning the brogans on its feet and in the short space of fifty years accumulate over a billion dollars worth of real and personal property, is another miracle of human history. That is what the Negro race in America has done.

History delights in contrasts. The story of how Abraham Lincoln, a rail splitter, James Garfield, a tow path boy, became presidents of the greatest republic known to history; the story of how Joseph, sold into slavery, became the virtual ruler of Egypt; of how Napoleon Bonaparte, a charity student, became the dreaded warrior-statesman who changed the map of Europe and had kings and queens waiting in his ante-chambers, has ever delighted the minds of men.

Equally marvelous is the rise of the Negro from slavery to the Senate chambers, from the farm to the judicial benches. That black men before the beginning of the Civil War were held as chattel slaves, were sold on the auction block, were picking

cotton and plowing the ground, and were so illiterate that they could not even sign their own names or read the Proclamation of Emancipation, could within a dozen years of their emancipation from bondage administer law as justices, hold important administrative positions as lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, or sit in the halls of Congress side by side with eminent American statesmen, side by side with the senators and congressmen of cultured Boston and rich New York, and could conduct themselves with such grace and dignity, and manifest such sound judgment and good sense that they could win high praises from such distinguished Americans as James G. Blaine, one of the most magnetic orators, one of the most popular political leaders, and one of the most masterful statesmen that ever figured in American politics; from Roscoe Conkling, a modern Pericles, an orator who made the Senate chamber ring with his eloquence as it has never done since the days of the royal Daniel Webster; and from James A. Garfield, the martyr president, is one of the miracles of human history.

In this age, when Andrew Carnegie is dotting the country with his public libraries; when the standard works of the world's greatest writers are sold in paper covers for twenty-five cents; when the Sunday edition of the city newspapers retail general information, it is difficult for us to realize the position and condition of the Negro slave. The South, with that political sagacity which has ever characterized her policy with regard to the Negro, realized that knowledge is power, that to educate the slave was to make him intelligent, was to make him dissatisfied with his status as a slave, and that the only method to keep the Negro in slavery was to keep him ignorant. The relative of his owner, Colonel Edward Floyd, who lived in Baltimore and to whom young Fred Douglass was sent as a boy, objected to his wife teaching Fred to read, saying, "If you give a Negro an inch, he will take an ell," and the rest of the saying is, "If you give him a horse he will ride to hell."

Hence, the South adopted repressive measures to prevent the Negro slave from learning the three R's. It was regarded as a crime for one slave to be caught teaching another slave to read. And it was regarded as a grave and serious offense for a slave to be caught reading and writing. The State of Georgia passed

laws in the ante-bellum days punishing a white man by fine and imprisonment, and a black man by whipping and imprisonment, who was caught teaching a slave to read and write. The slaves gathered secretly and covertly in cabins at night and in odd corners of the big house, and the knowing ones initiated the ignorant ones into the mysteries of the alphabet. They pondered over the sacred book as if they were reading the sibylline leaves of the Delphic oracles. Fred Douglass picked up leaves of readers and spelling books in the gutters of the streets, dried them and thus learned to read. Such were the obstacles the slaves had to overcome in gaining the rudiments of an education. Is it a wonder that he emerged from slavery ignorant and illiterate? That he could so rapidly rise from the slave pen to the pinnacle of power is one of the miracles of history.

Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi were the two colored men who were honored by a seat in the United States Senate. John M. Langston of Virginia; D. A. Haros, H. P. Cheatam and George W. White of North Carolina; Robert Smalls, Richard Howland, Robert C. DeLarge, Robert B. Elliott, Joseph H. Rainey, W. J. Whipper, Alonzo J. Ransier, Thomas E. Miller, and George Murray of South Carolina; Jere Haralson, James F. Rapier and Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama; Josiah T. Walls of Florida and John R. Lynch of Mississippi went to the House of Representatives; P. B. S. Pinchback, Oscar J. Dunn and C. C. Antoine became lieutenant-governors of Louisiana; Alonzo J. Ransier and Richard H. Gleaves of South Carolina, and Alexander Davis of Mississippi. Francis L. Cordoza became treasurer of the State of South Carolina, and, considering the fact that the governor was a weak man, he did remarkably well. Gibbs became secretary of state and superintendent of education in the State of Florida. For nearly a decade the carpet baggers and colored political leaders were monarchs of all that they surveyed in South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. Robert Brown Elliott became the speaker of the House in South Carolina. The colored legislators, with their mahogany tables, brussels carpets and their Dresden china cuspidors, lived like lords in the Columbia State House. They laid back in rocking chairs, smoking their imported cigars. They verily believed that the millennium had come. Those were indeed the years of jubilee.

I have often heard Governor Pinchback refer to those days as the palmy reconstruction days.

The National Government, too, honored the Negro with important federal positions. Colored men were appointed as United States ministers to Hayti, San Domingo, Liberia; as register of the treasury and recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia.

They were appointed as postmasters in Kittrell and Wilson, N. C.; Florence, Beaufort and Georgetown, S. C.; Darien, Ga., and Vicksburg, Miss. They were appointed as internal revenue collectors in Augusta, Ga., and Jacksonville, Fla. They were appointed as collectors of the port and customs in Wilmington, N. C., Georgetown and Beaufort, S. C., and Brunswick, Darien, and Savannah, Ga.

Colored men were pushing to the front, both in the North and West. E. G. Walker and Captain Charles Mitchel went to the state legislature in Massachusetts, George W. Williams went to the state legislature in Ohio, and a host of others followed. Governor Benjamin Butler appointed E. G. Walker, a black Democrat, a successful lawyer with many white clients, and an orator of imposing personality, to the judgeship in Charlestown, Mass. The governor's council, composed of Republicans, refused to confirm him. The governor thereupon sent in the name of George L. Ruffin, who was confirmed, and a colored man began to administer the law as city judge in Charlestown. William H. Dupree was appointed postmaster of the Roxbury Station in Boston, Mass., and Rev. Mahlon VanHorn for a dozen years served as a member of the board of education in Newport, R. I., being chairman of the text book committee most of the time.

So sudden and miraculous was the Negro's political rise in the first twelve years after his emancipation that optimistic colored leaders like Frederick Douglass and George T. Downing expected to see a colored man a member of the President's Cabinet. George T. Downing even aspired to the position of collector of the Port of Newport, R. I., the summer colony first of the Boston aristocrats and later of the New York multimillionaires.

The most buoyant and hopeful colored man would not dream now-a-days of putting in a bid for the position of collector of customs in the fashionable summer colony. In these days of the

disfranchisement and subordination of the Negro, we can have no conception of the roseate political future before the Negro, of the hope and enthusiasm among colored men, in the palmy reconstruction days from 1865 to 1880. Of the large number of talented colored men who came before the limelight and loomed into view then, ten became men of national fame. Seven of these demonstrated the possibilities of the self-made, three the possibilities of the educated, Negro. These ten men were Frederick Douglass, George T. Downing, General Robert Smalls, Senator Blanche K. Bruce, Hiram R. Revells, Wright Cuney, Lieutenant-Governor P. B. S. Pinchback, John Mercer Langston, Hon. Robert Brown Elliott, and Hon. D. E. Bassett. As I have already taken up the careers of Frederick Douglass and George T. Downing, I will not speak of them here, but will refer to the others.

It was fortunate for the Negro that the first colored man who applied for admittance to the House of Representatives, and the first colored man who entered the United States Senate were remarkable men. There happened to be a vacancy in the second Congressional District of Louisiana in the fall of 1868. At the election on November 3, 1868, J. Willis Menard, a college graduate of unquestioned ability and high character, was declared by Governor Warmouth as duly elected to fill the vacancy. On December 7, 1868, he presented himself on the floor of the House of Representatives, made his plea for admission, and was turned down and rejected by an overwhelming majority by a body which was largely Republican.

Mr. A. K. McClure, in the Boston *Sunday Herald* for January 5, 1902, graphically describes the entrance of Hiram R. Revells, whose credentials were presented in the Senate by Senator Wilson of Massachusetts. McClure says:

In less than two years the Negro again knocked for admission into Congress, and this time he stood at the door of the Senate. In January of 1870, Hiram R. Revells, a full-blooded Negro, a man of much more than common ability and of unblemished integrity, was elected to the Senate to fill an unexpired term by the Mississippi Legislature. It was accepted as the irony of fate that this Negro leader should be chosen to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate that had been created by the resignation of Jefferson Davis at the beginning of the war. Mr. Revells was a Methodist minister, highly respected, and one of the most prominent and useful of the colored leaders of the South. On the 25th of January,

five days after his election, he appeared in Washington, and the Republican leaders of the first legislative tribunal were in consternation at the threatened advent of the Negro in the Senate. Republican senators invented many excuses for rejecting the credentials with the Negro behind them; but on the 25th of February Charles Sumner delivered one of the ablest speeches of his life in defence of the rights of the Negro, resulting in the admission of Revells by a decided majority. Thus on the 25th of February, 1870, the first Negro entered our National Legislature, when Hiram R. Revells was qualified as United States Senator, and during his term of a little more than one year, he enjoyed the solitude that was broken by very few of his fellow senators in social intercourse, even on the floor of the Senate. I met Senator Revells when he was a member of the Senate and was very much interested in him as the first representative of his race in our National Congress. He was a man of rather imposing presence, severely unassuming, intelligent. He was sincerely devoted to the elevation and improvement of his race on the highest lines of advancement and he probably did more than any one of his race in his day in smoothing the thorny pathway for his people in the South.

Ten years after Revell's retirement from the Senate I visited the capitol of Mississippi and there met the late Senator George, who was then senator-elect, with the governor of the State and a number of other prominent officials. I was equally surprised and gratified to hear from them that ex-Senator Revells was doing a great work in Mississippi as president of a college for colored students, and that he was very highly respected and his work was so well appreciated that the State of Jefferson Davis, who was then living, contributed annually and liberally to maintain the institution. Revells was later one of the guests at the dedication of the Providence Depot in Boston and delivered an address.

Of our political leaders, evolved in reconstruction days, Wright Cuney of Texas and Governor P. S. Pinchback of Louisiana leaped into prominence through their ability to marshal and mass political forces and lead white and black alike. Tall, slender and light in complexion, brave, fearless, resourceful and magnetic, Cuney was for many years the dominant factor in Texas politics. Even when the Negro had lost his political grip in other sections of the South, Cuney kept his hands upon the throttle valve, and up to the time of his death, in the spring of 1898, was a power to be reckoned with.

In the period of the Negro's ascendancy in Louisiana, Pinchback was absolute lord and monarch. No reconstruction leader, colored or white, was as completely the master of his situation as Pinchback was of Louisiana. And Louisiana's history during that

period could not be told without bringing in the name of Pinchback again. With a shrewd, gentle, kind and determined face, he looked like Andrew Carnegie. He manifested such genius in his leadership of white and black, such dash and brilliancy and personal bravery, that he might well be called the Napoleon of Louisiana. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor, and when Governor Warmouth was impeached, handled the reins as Governor.

John Mercer Langston, R. Brown Elliott and E. D. Bassett were the most gifted of the educated colored leaders during the reconstruction days. Langston was born in Ohio, educated at Oberlin College and practiced law in Ohio and Virginia. He served creditably as Dean of Howard University Law School, United States Minister to Hayti and Congressman from Virginia. He was a high-minded, high-spirited and high-toned aristocrat, and a polished and graceful orator. He was as proud as Lucifer and held his head high. He boasted of the aristocratic Caucasian blood that flowed in his veins. No Bostonian, prouder of the fact that his ancestors came over in the *Mayflower*, no Bourbon of the South, prouder of his Cavalier and Huguenot ancestry, referred more grandiloquently to his blue-veined blood than Langston did. He was, however, in spite of his vanity, brave and brilliant and noble.

Robert Brown Elliott, next to Governor Daniel Y. Chamberlain, the carpet-bagger, South Carolina's most prominent reconstruction figure, was an almost pure Negro, who graduated from the famous school of Eton in England. He returned to America and soon became a conspicuous figure in South Carolina politics. He went to Congress and immortalized himself by a two-hour speech upon the civil and political status of the Negro in reply to Stevens, Vice President of the Confederacy, that made an impression because of its comprehensive grasp of the Southern situation, its masterly analysis and impassioned eloquence. For nearly two hours he held the House of Representatives spell-bound. At the close of his speech, Congressmen and friends gathered round him for half an hour, congratulating him. The Associated Press heralded it over the country and Elliott awoke one morning to find himself famous. He resigned his seat in the House of Representatives to accept a position as speaker of

the House in South Carolina. After the overthrow of Governor Chamberlain and Republican rule, Elliott went to New Orleans to accept a political position there, but he bucked against Governor Pinchback, met his Waterloo, and died in poverty.

Hon. E. D. Bassett, appointed by President Grant as the first colored minister to Hayti, was born in the Nutmeg State and graduated from the New Britain State Normal School; then he was tutored by Yale professors. He was for a time principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia. He made a splendid record both as educator and diplomat. Tall and well built, of light chestnut color, Bassett impressed everyone as being the embodiment of manliness and urbanity. He could speak German and French fluently. His travels, association with public men, and wide reading gave him a fund of anecdotes and made him a fascinating conversationist.

Dr. J. W. Thompson, United States Minister to Hayti, and James W. Trotter, Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia in Cleveland's first administration, kept up the pace set by Langston and Bassett.

Some are inclined to point to the Negro's political activity during the reconstruction days as something to be shuddered at. But this is what the Hon. James G. Blaine, one of the political giants of the nineteenth century, says in his "Twenty Years in Congress":

The colored man, freed from slavery, attained the right of suffrage, and in due season was sent to Congress. Did harm result from it? Nay, was it not the needed demonstration of the freedom and justice of a republican government? If it be viewed simply as an experiment, it was triumphantly successful. The colored men took seats in both Senate and House, did not appear ignorant or helpless. They were as a rule earnest, ambitious men, whose public conduct as illustrated by Mr. Revells and Mr. Bruce in the Senate, and by Mr. Rapier, Mr. Lynch and Mr. Rainey, in the House, would be honorable to any race. Coals of fire were heaped on the heads of their enemies, when the colored men in Congress, heartily joined in removing the disabilities of those who had been their oppressors.

The martyr President, James Garfield, bore similar testimony in an address to colored voters who visited him soon after his nomination. This is what Garfield said of the colored leaders of



reconstruction days in an address to colored visitors, at Mentor, October 20, 1880:

I have seen your representatives in Congress, one of them in the Senate, and I have seen them behave with such self-restraint, good sense, judgment, modesty and patriotism that it has given me new hope that all their brethren will continue to climb towards the light with every new opportunity.

Francis W. Halsey, in the introduction to the "Great Epoch in American History," says of the reconstruction:

Under these conditions there set in an extraordinary reign of crime to which modern times afford no parallel. Negro legislatures and plundering "carpet-baggers," with Federal troops helping them to maintain supremacy, debauched and made miserable the whole social, industrial and political life of the South. When their reign was over, there had been added to state debts a total sum of \$300,000,000. It was estimated in 1874 that in South Carolina at least 200 black men who could not read or write a word were trial justices, while others equally illiterate were superintendents of schools.

So much for the evils of reconstruction. Now for the Tweed ring. On page 153 of the same book, E. Benjamin Andrews says:

Innumerable methods of fraud were successfully tried. During the year 1863, the expenditures of the Street Department were \$650,000. Within four years Tweed quadrupled them. A species of asphalt paving, dubbed "Fisk's poultice," so bad that a grand jury actually declared it a public nuisance, was laid in great quantities at vast cost to the city. Official advertising was doled to twenty-six daily and fifty-four weekly sheets, of which twenty-seven vanished on its withdrawal. But all the other robber enterprises paled before the City Court House job. This structure, commenced in 1868, under stipulation that it should not cost more than \$250,000, was in 1871 still unfinished after an outlay of \$8,000,000, four times as much as was spent on Parliament House in London. Its ostensible cost, at least, was not less than \$12,000,000. As by witchcraft the city's debt was in two years more than doubled. The ring's operations cheated the city's taxpayers, first and last, out of no less than \$160,000,000, "or four times the fine levied on Paris by the German army." Though wallowing in lucre, and prodigal withal, Tweed was yet insatiably greedy. "His hands were everywhere, and everywhere they were feeling for money." In 1871 he boasted of being worth \$20,000,000, and vowed soon to be as rich as Vanderbilt.

Thus the same book which calls the reconstruction "an extraordinary reign of crime to which modern times affords no

parallel," states that while the state debt in over a dozen states in eleven years increased \$300,000,000 under reconstruction, the Tweed ring in four years robbed a single city of over \$160,000,000. So the horrors of reconstruction pale into insignificance before the colossal and wholesale grafting of the Tweed ring. And yet the immigrants and sons of immigrants who made possible Tweed's power were not disfranchised. And I believe that the graft in San Francisco was as notorious as the reconstruction graft, and yet the voters who made it possible were not disfranchised.

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, an eminently fair and impartial historian, has disproved the assertion that colored legislators and executives fleeced South Carolina of enormous sums and turned state treasuries into bonanza mines during the period of their ascendancy. In a letter to the editor of the *Boston Transcript*, March 4, 1906, he says: "Boss Tweed in New York, in 1869-1871 squeezed out more millions than were stolen in the entire South" (during reconstruction days). It is the fad to cast upon the canvas the bugbear of Negro domination and misrule during the palmy reconstruction days. I believe that the Negro politicians who forged to the front during those days were by no means fools. Many of them were men of considerable education and ability. The average black voter gave as good account of himself as the ignorant foreigners, who make up the rank and file of Tammany Hall, and of the illiterate cracker who regards Governor Vardaman as a demigod. I don't believe the political corruption during those days equalled that of the Tweed ring, Tammany Hall, or certain phases of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois (Chicago), Missouri and San Francisco politics. It is boldly asserted that the colored congressmen and politicians lined their pockets with thousands of dollars. General Robert Smalls of Beaufort, S. C., the hero of the Planter episode, and a typical reconstruction politician, was a political dictator during the early days of that period. He sat in Congress twelve years, and yet retired from his seat in Congress nearly \$5,000 in debt. That would not indicate that he robbed South Carolina of thousands of dollars. On the contrary he had always been a generous and public-spirited citizen. I believe that it is the marvel of history that a race, as soon as it had

been emancipated from two hundred and fifty years of degrading and debasing slavery, should aspire to the highest and best things in American civilization, even to using mahogany tables, Brussels carpet and Dresden china cuspidors in the State capitol at Columbia, S. C., and should immediately comprehend and grasp the most complex political psychology that the world has yet seen.

On account of the "Black Laws" passed by Southern legislatures immediately after the war, the North was compelled to establish martial law and military rules in the South, enfranchise the Negro, or permit him to be reduced to helpless and hopeless peonage and serfdom. After some experience with the first and third of these alternatives, it chose the second as the least of these three possible evils.

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was passed by Congress January 30, 1865, the act protecting the civil rights of the colored people, April 9, 1866, and fourteenth amendment, which gave the Negro legal status, June 13, 1866. The famous Reconstruction Act, which placed the South under military law, was passed by Congress March 2, 1867. Mr. Blaine's amendment to the bill conferred the elective franchise upon the Negro. Georgia refused to admit the colored men who had been elected to her Legislature. On December 16, 1869, Congress passed a bill forbidding the exclusion of colored men from the Legislature. The fifteenth amendment, which gave the Negro an assured political status, was ratified March 30, 1870.

Tennessee ratified the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments and was restored to her place in the Union on July 23, 1868; North Carolina and South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia, June 25, 1868; Virginia, January 26; Mississippi, February 23; Texas, March 30, 1878. Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, Thaddeus Stevens, George S. Boutwell, Roscoe Conkling, James G. Blaine, James A. Garfield, Carl Schurz, Benjamin F. Butler, Oliver P. Morton and John A. Logan were the leaders in the struggle which gave the Negro his legal and political status.

But the South was as restless as an untamed horse. In January, 1875, after General Grant and General Sheridan had frustrated the Confederate leaders in their attempt to seize by force the government of Louisiana, through Thurman, Bayard, Hamilton, and Schurz, they attempted to storm the United States

Senate, and attacked General Grant and General Sheridan for using the military in organizing the Louisiana legislature.

Then Senator Conkling, in a speech that will forever live in the annals of the Senate, crushed the entire conspiracy. Mr. Conkling thus concluded his memorable address:

Mr. President, I have been speaking of history—the history of Louisiana. It is the statesman's task to turn history into philosophy and prophecy. The modes adopted in New York and Louisiana are widely unlike; there is a broad difference between them. Whence comes this difference? In what is it rooted? Four million black men are the great factors in the problem. When the fate of the nation trembled in the wavering balance of war they struck no blows at the Republic; they stood by the flag; they prayed for it; they toiled for it; and they fought for it. The American people said they should be free and be citizens; and the American people embedded their will in the bulwarks of the Constitution. The Nation forgave its enemies and left the ballot and the right of self-government to them. But the same Nation, at the same time, conferred the ballot and the right of self-government on those who, galled by centuries of oppression, had still been true in the supreme hour, had won their liberty and their citizenship on gory fields of battle. Congress did not do this. The people did it. The people in the States, speaking through their State legislatures, put manhood, citizenship, the ballot, and equal rights for the black man into the Constitution.

There stands the amendments of freedom. The Nation is for them; humanity is for them; God is for them; and political parties and revolutionists shall not prevail against them. A great body of men in the land shall not submit to them. Social equality is no part of them, but hate and pride rebel against them. This is the moral rebellion of to-day. Drop it in good faith, man-like, and the South will be tranquil in half a year."

One of the most masterly expositions of the reasons which led to the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution was given by the nephew of brave Parker Pillsbury, an anti-slavery advocate, who was thus graphically described by James Russell Lowell:

Beyond, a crater in each eye;  
Sways brown, broad-shouldered Pillsbury;  
Who tears up words, like trees by the root—  
A Theseus in stout cowhide boots,  
A terrible denouncer he!  
Old Sinai burns unquenchably  
Upon his lips; he might well be

A hot-blazing soul from fierce Judea,  
Habakkuk, Ezra or Hosea,  
His words burn as with hot iron searers,  
And might-more like he mounts his bearers,  
Spurring them like avenging fate; or  
As Watterton his alligator.

I refer to Hon. Albert E. Pillsbury, ex-attorney-general of Massachusetts, who has grappled as intelligently and courageously with the moral and political problems facing his day as did his famous uncle, the author of the acts of the anti-slavery apostles, who stood as an Ajax among the New England reformers.

Hon. A. E. Pillsbury, at the close of his article upon "The War Amendments," in the *North American Review* for May, 1909, said:

At this distance from the reconstruction period, and after so long a systematic perversion of the facts, there is so much misapprehension or positive ignorance of the truth that it is worth recalling it. It was within the power of the dominant party to control the reconstructed states, if this had been its purpose, without the aid of a Negro vote. This was not its purpose. The fourteenth amendment went no further than to make the Negro a citizen, leaving him to be dealt with by the States as they might see fit; in the hope and belief that he would be fairly treated, and that some such scheme as President Lincoln proposed, of moderate and gradual extension of the suffrage by impartial tests to the best of the Negro race, would preserve order under white supremacy and work out a peaceful and satisfactory solution of the problem, as it would have done if adopted. These liberal terms were flung back upon those who made them. The contemptuous rejection of the fourteenth amendment by all States of the late Confederacy, accompanied by a system of legislation remanding the Negro to servitude, in fact if not in law, betrayed a purpose toward him which could not be indulged consistently with the honor or the safety of the country. It also raised the direct issue whether the terms of reconstruction should be prescribed for those who had remained loyal to the Union. To this question there could be but one answer. This and this alone brought on the fifteenth amendment, which was in simple truth no more than the last necessary step in the process of suppressing rebellion. It does not confer the suffrage upon a single Negro. It forbids discrimination against him as a Negro, making suffrage to that extent impartial but not universal.

Every assault upon it is evidence of a desire and purpose to exclude the Negro from the suffrage, whatever his character or qualification, solely because of his color, while admitting to it every white man however ignorant, worthless or depraved, and retaining, in open disregard of

the fourteenth amendment, the whole share of political power of which the disfranchised Negroes are despoiled. We have seen how the North, grateful to the Negro for his patriotic devotion to his country during the trying days of the civil war, rewarded him by clothing him with the panoply of citizenship and crowning him with the diadem of manhood rights.

But the South, though conquered by the sword, was never conquered in its inborn and innate desire to reduce the Negro to a position of absolute inferiority. It has persistently refused to abide by the results of the war. President Johnson, by his proclamation of amnesty and pardon, permitted the South to reconstruct the State governments. The Southern legislatures enacted the "Black Code" which ignored the Proclamation of Emancipation, the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and which practically reestablished slavery in a new form. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," says, in part, of the "Black Code":

That which was no offense in a white man was made a misdemeanor, a heinous crime, if committed by a Negro. Both in the civil and criminal code his treatment was different from that to which the white man was subjected. He was compelled to work under a series of labor laws applicable only to his own race.

The laws of vagrancy were so changed as in many of their provisions to apply only to him, and under their operation all freedom of movement and transit was denied. The liberty to sell his time at a fair market rate was destroyed by the interposition of apprentice laws. Avenues of usefulness and skill, in which he might specially excel, were closed against him, lest he should compete with the white man. In short, his liberty in all directions was so curtailed that it was a bitter mockery to refer to him in the statutes as a freed man.

The truth is that his liberty was merely a form and not a fact, and slavery was revived by the enactments of the State. Some of these enactments were peculiarly offensive, not to say atrocious. In Alabama, which might serve as an example for the other rebellious states, stubborn or refractory servants who might loiter their time away were declared by law to be vagrants, and might be brought before a justice of the peace and fined fifty dollars, and in default of payment they might be hired out, on three days' notice, by the public notary, for the period of six months. No fair man could fail to see that the whole effect, and presumably the direct intent of this law, was to reduce the help-

less Negro to slavery for half of the year, a punishment which could be repeated whenever desired, a punishment sure to be desired for that portion of each recurring year when his labor was especially valuable in connection with the cotton crop, while for the remainder of the time he might shift for himself.

By this detestable process the master had the labor of the servant for a mere pittance, and even the pittance did not go to the servant, but was paid into the treasury of the county and thus relieved the white man from his proper share of taxation. There may have been more cruel laws enacted, but the statute books of the world might be searched in vain for one of meaner injustice.

In Florida the laws resembled those of Alabama, but were, perhaps, more severe in their penalties. In the laws of South Carolina the oppression and injustice towards the Negroes were conspicuously marked. The restriction as to firearms, which was general to all the states, was especially severe. Perhaps the most radically unjust of the statutes was reserved for this State. The legislature enacted that no person of color should pursue the practice of art, trade or business of an artisan, mechanic or shopkeeper, or any other trade or employment besides that of husbandry, or that of a servant under contract for labor, until he should have obtained a license from the judge of a district court, which license was good for one year only. If the license was granted to the Negro to be a shopkeeper or peddler he was compelled to pay a hundred dollars a year for it, and if he wished to pursue the rudest mechanical calling he was compelled to pay a license fee of ten dollars. No such fee was enacted of the white men and no such fees were enacted of freed black men during the era of slavery.

Mississippi followed in the general line of penal enactments prescribed in South Carolina, though her code was possibly somewhat less severe in deprivation to which the Negro was subject. It was, however, bad enough to stir the indignation of every lover of justice. The legislature enacted a law providing that if the laborer should quit the service of his employer before the expiration of his term of service, without just cause, he should forfeit his wages for that year up to the time of quitting. Practically, the Negro himself was never permitted to judge whether

the cause which drove him to seek employment elsewhere was just, the white man being the sole arbiter in the premises.

Louisiana probably attained the worst eminence in this vicious legislation. At the very moment when the Thirty-ninth Congress was assembling to consider the condition of the Southern States and the whole subject of their reconstruction, it was found that a bill was pending in the Legislature of Louisiana providing that every adult freedman or woman should furnish themselves with a comfortable home with visible means of support within twenty days after the passing of this act; and that every freedman or woman failing to obtain a home and support as thus provided should be immediately arrested by any sheriff or constable in any parish, or by the police officer in any city or town in said parish where said freedman might be, and by them delivered to the recorder of the parish and by him hired out, by public advertisement, to some citizen, being the highest bidder, for the remainder of the year.

Such, in part, was the code of the Black Laws, which were rendered null and void by the fourteenth amendment. But the South spurned the fourteenth amendment, and then the fifteenth amendment was passed. Still the South was not conquered yet; members of the Klu Klux Klans, secret, oath-bound societies, disguised with masks and armed to the teeth, rode at night, committed depredations and did their bloody work. They first rose in Louisiana and vented their wrath upon colored men and their white political sympathizers. Mr. Blaine said: "Over two thousand persons were killed, wounded or otherwise injured in Louisiana, within a few weeks of the Presidential election of 1868." The State was overrun by violence, midnight raids, secret murders and open riots. In one parish the Klu Klux Klans killed and wounded over two hundred Republicans, hunting and chasing them for two days through the fields and swamps. Over twenty-five bodies were found in one place in the woods. Dr. William A. Sinclair on page 36 of his admirable book on the "Aftermath of Slavery," says: "The horrors of cruelties of the Klu Klux Klans in Louisiana were fully rivaled in Mississippi and more or less largely sustained in each of the Southern States."

It is estimated by persons well acquainted with the situation that from forty to fifty thousand colored people, white loyalists



and Northern men were murdered in cold blood during this era. The reign of terror spread through the South and lasted several years. General Butler, a Southerner, gained the title of "Hamburg Massacre Butler" for his share in the Hamburg, S. C., riot, where colored men were shot down in cold blood. President Grant sustained Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain, the brilliant carpet-bag governor of South Carolina, with the United States troops. Then Rutherford B. Hayes was elected president. He withdrew the Federal troops. Daniel Chamberlain and Wade Hampton were the rival candidates for the gubernatorial chair in Columbia, S. C. It was a matter of doubt which was elected, and the Southern Confederates took possession of the State Capitol by force.

The outraged public sentiment of the North protested against the wholesale shooting down of men at the polls, against the wholesale slaughter of human beings simply because they dared to vote the Republican ticket. Then the South proceeded to do by guile what she had been doing by force for over a score of years. Her first method was to prevent the Negro from voting. This she did with the shot gun and the Winchester rifle. Her second method was by constitutions. Mississippi led off, followed by South Carolina. Then came Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia and Alabama. In 1890 Mississippi, in 1895 South Carolina, in 1898 Louisiana, in 1900 North Carolina, in 1901 Virginia and Alabama adopted constitutional amendments disfranchising the Negro. Very curious were the devices whereby the ballot was left in the hands of the ignorant white men and taken from the Negro. Mississippi barred from the election franchise any person who was unable to read any section of the constitution or to understand it when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation of it. Payment of a poll tax was also required. This understanding clause left it to the discretion of the register, whether the applicant understood or did not understand the constitution. It made it possible for the brilliant and talented colored man to be disfranchised on the ground that they did not understand and could not interpret the constitution.

South Carolina, in her constitutional amendment, excluded those voters who were unable to read or write any section of the constitution or to show they owned and paid taxes on property

which was assessed at \$300 or more. This was quite reasonable. Louisiana amended its constitution in a similar manner. In addition, she had a grandfather clause, which made an exception of those whose fathers or grandfathers had voted previous to the Civil War. Thus a loophole was opened for the illiterate white man who could neither read nor write.

North Carolina demands an educational but no property qualifications. In the fall of 1908, the attempt to disfranchise the Negroes of Maryland and West Virginia was defeated at the polls. In the spring of 1910, a bill came up in the Maryland legislature which aimed at the wholesale disfranchisement of the Negro, in absolute defiance of the fifteenth amendment.

Kentucky and Florida have not yet attempted to disfranchise the Negro. North Carolina at first seemed unaffected by this anti-Negro wave that was sweeping over the Southland. Colored men were potent in North Carolina politics and they ran things in Wilmington, N. C. Finally, in October, 1898, led by Wardwell, 500 armed men destroyed the Manley printing press, shot colored men down right and left, and took the government away from the Republicans by force. Clad in red shirts and brandishing their Winchesters, white Democrats rode over different sections of the states and drove the Negroes out of politics. But before the vogue of disfranchising constitutions, the group of colored senators and congressmen began to thin out.

H. C. Cheatham of North Carolina, in the Fifty-second Congress, and G. W. Murray of South Carolina, in the Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth Congresses, had seats in the House of Representatives. Finally, George H. White of North Carolina stood alone in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses. In 1903, when he retired from the House of Representatives, the Negro race had not a single representative in Congress.

Colored men continued to hold diplomatic appointments abroad and Federal positions in Washington and the South, but the fight upon colored office-holders in the South was begun soon after Theodore Roosevelt became President, in the fall of 1901, and it reached its culmination in the spring of 1903. Thorpe and Wick were removed as postmasters of Kittrell and Wilson, N. C. Deas was removed from his position as United States marshal in South Carolina. The fight centered around the appointment of

Dr. Crum as collector of the Port of Charleston, S. C., and Miss Cox as postmistress at Indianapolis, Ind. Roosevelt stood by his guns and continued to stand by his appointment of Crum until he was confirmed by the Senate. The protest against Miss Cox was so vigorous that Roosevelt decided not to press the matter. He abolished the Indianapolis postoffice as a punishment to the Southern buckers. When Roosevelt retired from the Presidency, Crum, Joshua Wilson of Florence, S. C., Robert Smalls, Rucker, Deveaux and Judge Lee were holding important positions as collectors of ports and collectors of internal revenue or postmasters.

President Taft, in his inaugural address, March, 1909, sounded the death knell of the colored man's political hopes, when he said that he would not appoint colored men to office where the white people of that community objected. That encouraged Tillman to protest against Dr. Crum. Pressure was then brought to bear upon Dr. Crum to induce him to resign. He and Mr. Rucker, collector of internal revenue at Augusta, Ga., were supplanted by white men. Deveaux, collector of the port of Savannah, Ga., died and his place was filled by a white man. At the time Woodrow Wilson took his seat, Joshua Wilson was still postmaster at Florence, S. C.; Bob Smalls was still collector of the Port of Beaufort, S. C., and Judge Lee was still collector of internal revenue at Jacksonville, Fla.

In the North the Negro still held his ground politically. William Dupree held on as postmaster in South Boston. In the spring of 1903 W. H. Lewis was appointed assistant district attorney in Boston, Mass., and in 1910 was appointed assistant attorney-general by President Taft. In New York City, James D. Carr was appointed as assistant district attorney and assistant corporation counsel and Charles Anderson was appointed surveyor of the port. In Chicago, Ill., Mr. Barnett, the husband of the famous Ida B. Wells, and other colored men were appointed assistant district attorneys.

We may conclude our survey of the Negro in politics by saying that the North and West have endeavored to embody the principles underlying the fifteenth amendment in their attitude towards the Negro, while the South at first openly defied the letter and spirit of the fifteenth amendment and is now trying to evade it by amendments to her State constitutions.

Mr. Pillsbury, in the concluding paragraph of the article to which we have already referred, admirably sums up the situation. He says:

The dream of annulling the fifteenth amendment by judicial decree will never be realized, but the political question will be a source of danger so long as it is left unsettled. If the people continue to ignore the injustice to the Negro, they will not always tolerate the injustice to themselves. In the event of a Presidential election turning upon the thirty odd electoral votes now unlawfully controlled by the white South, is there any assurance or is it likely that the party in power would surrender possession of the government to a claimant under such a title? A controversy so arising, precipitated under such conditions, would shake the Federal structure to its foundations. To allow the country to drift into such a situation is forbidden alike by patriotism and statesmanship.

The fifteenth amendment is the Magna Carta of our political rights, the Ark of the Covenant of our political salvation. It carries with it political equality and political opportunity. It gives not only the right to vote but the right to go to Congress and represent this government in executive, judicial and diplomatic positions. Everything that makes a black man a man politically, everything that makes him a political unit, is contained in the fifteenth amendment. Until it shall be operative in the South, the declaration of independence is an iridescent dream.

SAYS REPUBLICANS OF THE SOUTH ARE DOWNCAST.

(From the *Boston Globe*.)

Hon. Joseph C. Manning of Birmingham, Ala., spoke before the members of the Massachusetts Club at its weekly luncheon and meeting in Young's Hotel yesterday afternoon, and incidentally opened the eyes of the Republicans here as to political conditions in the Southern States. Ex-Gov. John L. Bates was present and William F. Garcelon, secretary of the organization, presided.

Mr. Manning, who is widely known as a newspaper man, spoke about the political situation in the South and said that during the administration of President Harrison the Republicans in the section took heart, went to the polls and accomplished something. He contrasted those times with the present.

Under present conditions Republicans in the South, he said, feel that it is of no use to take much interest in politics, as out of 300,000 whites and 200,000 Negroes only 2,500 Negroes are registered in Alabama, although there are about 75,000 Negroes capable of casting an intelligent vote. Out of 500,000 possible voters in Alabama, all told, there are only about 125,000 registered.

He spoke of the twelve Democratic Southern States with their 2,000,000 colored men and 4,000,000 whites more than twenty-one years of age, of which number only 1,200,000 exercise the franchise, because the white Republicans in that part of the country feel forsaken and deserted by the Republicans of the North. He claimed the Bourbon repression is not exercised because of fear of the Negroes, but rather to prevent the whites who are Republican from obtaining control of the situation.

Mr. Manning drew attention to the fact that the Bourbons have brought the Republicans around to the point of view of letting the South alone, and that they were glad to see Booker Washington brought into prominence in the North because the people of the North were thus made to believe that he is solving the problem of the South.

The speaker said that while Booker Washington is doing good work with "his little institution with 1,500 students," there are ten or twelve great Southern states with 6,000,000 possible voters where the Negro is not advancing to his political rights because of the policy of "let the South alone," to which Northern Republicans have been assenting.

He closed with an urgent plea to Republicans of the North to return to the old militant Republicanism of the Abraham Lincoln type and thus give heart and courage to the faltering and downcast Republicans of the South.

#### CONCLUSION.

Mr. A. K. McClure, in his article in the *Boston Herald* for January 5, 1902, pathetically tells of the beginning of the disfranchisement, and indirectly shows what has been the South's mistake. He says:

Universal Negro suffrage was first established in the District of Columbia, where Congress has supreme authority and a territorial government organized with legislative authorities, chosen largely by the enfranchised freedman. A very few years made it an imperative necessity for Congress to disfranchise the entire people of the District of Columbia, to escape the ignorant and profligate rule of the Negro.

I happened to be present in the gallery of the Senate when Senator Morton, the ablest all-round leader of the Republican party, made his final appeal against the passage of the bill repealing the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia.

His appeal was unavailing, as he well knew, and the same Republican authority that had enfranchised the Negro under the very shadow of the capitol of the Nation was compelled to declare that his disfranchisement had become an imperious necessity to protect property and maintain social order. The Southern States, which have been ingenious in constitutional devices, practically disfranchised him in the capital city.

I believe, however, that Mr. McClure is going too far afield when he sees in a Republican Congress disfranchising the entire

District of Columbia, a precedent for the South disfranchising the Negro by the understanding and grandfather clause, and yet at the same time saving the illiterate white vote.

Congress, however, made a mistake in lumping all of the Negroes, the intelligent and the illiterate, the good and the bad, the worthy and the unworthy, the high-toned and the low-toned, together and formulating a legislation that would affect the entire mass. The North has since been discriminating in its estimate of the Negro, but the South has carried out that mistake with a vengeance.

The North now largely judges a colored man with regard to his individual character; but the South considers the Negro as belonging to a certain class, and it groups all colored men en masse in a certain class and legislates against that certain class. In order to hit the illiterate, unworthy, bad, and low-toned Negro, it hits the intelligent, worthy, good and high-toned class, at the same time. Because some Negroes are ignorant the South desires to disfranchise all; because some Negroes are vicious, the South Jim-Crows all. No legislation either for or against the Negro will be effective that fails to discriminate between the civilized and semi-barbarous Negro. No solution of the so-called race problem will be a real solution which attempts to give the same kind of treatment to the high Negro that should be meted out to the low. The South does not realize this.

FOOT NOTES.—Senator Joseph Benson Foraker in his address before the Chautauqua Association at Bellefontaine, Ohio, July 27, 1907, gave a splendid resumé of the conditions that brought about the passage of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution and a brilliant vindication of Reconstruction. Those who desire a fuller discussion of the subjects discussed in this chapter can find it in Dr. William A. Sinclair's work, "The Aftermath of Slavery," which I regard as an able contribution to American History.

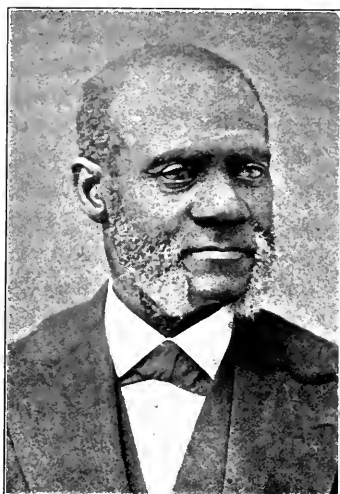
Since Woodrow Wilson has been elected president, Lewis has been removed from the position of assistant attorney general; Bob Smalls has been supplanted in Beaufort, S. C., by a white man; Joseph Lee has been supplanted in Jacksonville, Fla., by a white man; the colored clerks in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving have been segregated. On June 10th, 1913, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to segregate all of the colored clerks in all of the departments of Washington, D. C.; an Anti-Intermarriage Bill for the District of Columbia has been introduced in Congress, and the United States Supreme Court has declared Sumner's famous Civil Rights bill unconstitutional.





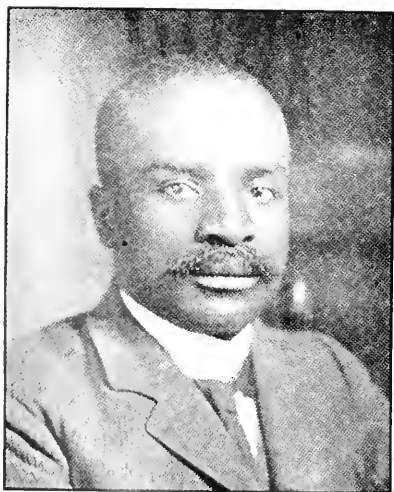
HARRIET TUBMAN

Who led over 300 slaves to liberty during  
the ante bellum days  
(Courtesy of *The American Magazine*)



REV. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNETT

Late U. S. Minister to St. Domingo  
The only colored man to hold religious  
services in the House of Representatives



PROF. KELLY MILLER

of Howard University (Mathematician  
and Sociologist)



DAVID H. FERRIS

Grand Army Veteran, Father of the Author



## CHAPTER XLI.

### *Some Colored History Makers of the Reconstruction Days.*

Hiram R. Revells of Mississippi was the first Negro to forge to the front as a legislator. On February 25, 1870, he took his seat in the United States Senate, and Jefferson F. Long of Georgia, on February 24, 1871, took his seat in the House of Representatives; Blanche R. Bruce did not take his seat in the United States Senate until March 4, 1875. So Revells was the pioneer of the colored congressmen and senators. Later he became president of Alcorn University, Mississippi. Richard H. Cain, Robert C. DeLarge, Robert B. Elliott, Joseph H. Rainey, W. J. Whipper, Alonzo J. Ransier of South Carolina, Jare Haralson, James F. Rapier and Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama, John R. Lynch of Mississippi, Josiah T. Walls of Florida, J. E. O'Hara and H. P. Cheatham of North Carolina, soon followed these and obtained seats in Congress. Then in recent years John Mercer Langston of Virginia, George H. White of North Carolina, and Thomas Miller and George Murray of South Carolina served in Congress. A few colored men became Lieutenant-Governors. They are P. B. S. Pinchback, Oscar J. Dunn, and C. C. Antoine of Louisiana; Alonzo J. Ransier and Richard H. Gleaves of South Carolina, and Alexander Davis of Mississippi. Of these Lieutenant-Governors, Pinchback was the most famous. Pinchback's hair-raising feat was to hire an engine in 1876 and ride from New Orleans to Washington, carrying the electoral votes of Louisiana at the risk of his own life. He ran the engine himself. Word was sent along and men were on the lookout along the railroad to pick him off with shot guns. But they arrived at the railroad too late and Pinchback landed the votes in Washington.

Josiah T. Walls assisted Congressman Zack Chandler of Indiana in capturing the electoral votes of Florida for Rutherford B. Hayes, thus electing him President of the United States.

Frederick Frelinghuysen and Richard Wayne Parker of New Jersey, in the Returning Board, deciding in favor of the validity of Florida's vote.

James C. Matthews, John C. Dancy and Taylor, recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, and the men I have mentioned in the previous chapter as ministers to Hayti and Liberia are the other leaders.

Now that the mists have cleared away, I think we may safely say that Revells, Bruce, Elliott, Miller, R. Smalls, Langston, Lynch, Pinchback, Josiah T. Walls and Francis L. Cordoza, Secretary of State for South Carolina, who, when South Carolina turned over from Chamberlain to Wade Hampton in President Hayes's administration, carried the State funds to New York and tied up the Hampton administration, and who afterwards became principal of the colored high school in Washington, will go down in history as the twelve most potent colored leaders during the early reconstruction days.

The after career of these men is interesting. One of these Lieutenant-Governors became waiter and street sweep, and in later years waited at a banquet on the Lieutenant-Governor of the State. Senators Revells, Thomas Miller and T. D. S. Tucker, law partner of R. Brown Elliott, a cultured aristocrat and a polished speaker, became founders and presidents of colleges. George H. White, the last Negro to sit in Congress, became, with George H. Cook and John H. Cook, owner of a brickyard and interested in establishing a new town (Whitesboro) in New Jersey. Josiah T. Walls became a wealthy farmer in Florida. His fortune was ruined by the frost which killed the orange trees. He then became farm superintendent of the State College in Tallahassee, Fla. Cheatham afterwards became recorder of deeds, and then a farmer. James C. Matthews, who preceded James M. Trotter as recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, was afterwards elected as district judge in Albany, N. Y., more white people than colored people voting for him. John R. Lynch, who presided at the National Republican Convention in 1884 at Chicago as temporary chairman, became paymaster for the United States army in the late Spanish War.

T. McCants Stewart, author of "Liberia," famous as a lawyer, orator and politician in New York City a few years ago, and the

president of the Brooklyn Literary, is now a practicing lawyer in Hawaii.

D. A. Straker, author of "The New South," and in the early reconstruction days a professor in the South Carolina University, became a prominent lawyer in Detroit, Mich. We are now accustomed to sneer at the colored leaders during the trying reconstruction days and to regard them as men who were freighted down with braggadocia and inflated with bravado. Some have even believed that their prototypes were to be found in Give-a-Dam Jones, Pickles Smith and Raspberry Johnson of Brother Gardner's celebrated Lime Kiln Club, as they uttered linguistic abortions. But it is not so. When we remember that men, most of whom were born and trained as slaves, some of whom did not know their alphabet when they were twenty-one years old, rose out of the mire of obscurity and filled with credit and honor to themselves and their race, positions as United States Senators, Congressmen, Lieutenant-Governors and Secretaries of State, we may well pause with amazement and marvel that men from such depths could climb to such dazzling heights of fame.

After the close of the war, six colored men attracted attention, three as orators, one as a scholar, one as an editor, and another as a business man. R. Brown Elliott, whose speech in Congress about the rights of the Negro, in reply to Alexander H. Stephens, ex-Vice President of the Confederacy, who assailed the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Bill, held the audience spell-bound for two hours and caused the Congressmen for half an hour to gather around him congratulating him; J. C. Price, the magnetic orator, whose magnificent voice and playful humor charmed and delighted admiring audiences of both races; George W. Williams, the first colored member of the Ohio Legislature, Judge Advocate of the G. A. R. of Ohio, the superb orator whose history, "The Negro Race in America," is still standard authority; Hon. John F. Cook, colored member of the board of education, probably the richest and most influential colored citizen in the District of Columbia, who was for twenty years tax collector, has been a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and who has held other positions of dignity, trust and honor; T. Thomas Fortune, former editor of the *New York Age*, and contributor to the *Sunday Sun*, the gifted literatteur, the terse

and trenchant pioneer of Negro journalism, the ardent champion of Negro political independence, and author of "Black and White, the Negro in Politics," and Professor Bouchet, who almost won the valedictory at Yale in the early seventies, are these six men. Henry Highland Garnett and James Monroe Trotter are the peers of these in ability. William Howard Day, a graduate of Oberlin College, and Edward Everett, later a member of the school committee in Harrisburg, Pa., was undoubtedly gifted in oratory.

The late Professor Daniel B. Williams, A.M., formerly dean of the college department in the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institution of Petersburg, Va., author of "Freedom and Progress," and "Art and Methods of Teaching," almost rivalled DuBois in acquaintance with the world's history, depth of thought, loftiness of spirit and beauty of expression. I regard his chapter upon "Freedom and Progress," in his book of the same name, as a masterpiece. Unfortunately he died just as the world was beginning to recognize his greatness as a man. The late Bishop Dickerson, founder of Allen University, Columbia, S. C., possessed, in the words of Bishop Paine, "a sonorous voice, the bass tones of which did at times roll out of his mouth like the diapason of an organ."

Ex-President William J. Laws, D.D., of Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas, is a history maker. Over thirty years ago he was pastor of the A. M. E. Church in New Haven, Conn. In those days it was unusual to see a Negro preacher as polished, as graceful, as gallant, and as chivalric as the silver-tongued Laws. Edmonia Lewis is a noted sculptress who formerly had a studio in Rome. The figure of "Hagar in the Wilderness," her two groups representing Longfellow's "Hiawatha," her Madonna with infant, Christ and two adoring angels, her busts of Longfellow and John Brown, her medallion portrait of Wendell Phillips, brought her a deserved fame. Her "Madonna" was bought by the Marquis of Bute, Disraeli's Lothair.

Several colored men have mastered chemistry and the mechanical arts. Professor J. H. Bluford of the A. and M. College, Greensboro, N. C., has successfully analyzed beerine and other products. Mr. Phillip Allston of Boston is a chemist with Potter, Wicks & Co. Professor L. B. Thompson of the Georgia State

Industrial College, superintended the erection of their splendid dormitory. Mr. J. A. Lankford, an architect, designed the True Reformer's Building in Washington, D. C. Mr. Williams of Augusta Ga., is a genius for repairing watches and building automobiles, etc. Joseph Lee, the Boston caterer, invented a bread-kneading and bread-making machine. Stanley Ruffin of Boston, a graduate of technology in Boston, was employed by a mining company in the West. Richard M. Hancock was foreman of the pattern shops of the Eagle Works and Manufacturing Company. John W. Terry was foreman of the iron and fittings department of the Chicago West Division Street Car Company. Mr. E. McCoy of Detroit, Mich., invented the "lubricator" which has been used on several railroad engines. D. F. Black of Mechanicsburg, Pa., invented several patents. The New York *Age* of April 30, 1887, and Professor Daniel B. Williams say that "Garnett D. Baltimore with great dexterity enlarged the locks of the canal connecting Oswego with the Seneca River." But Jeremiah D. Baltimore, E. McCoy, Eugene Burkins, Lieutenant H. O. Flipper and Granville Woods are the five Negro stars in the mechanical firmament. McCoy has taken out thirty patents for lubricators. Jeremiah D. Baltimore, who invented the pyrometer exhibited at the New Orleans Exhibition, was formerly employed as engineer of the United States Survey at Washington, and for many years was chief engineer and mechanic at Freedmen's Hospital, Washington. Mr. E. McCoy of Detroit, Mich., invented the lubricator which is used on many railroad engines. Eugene Burkins invented the Burkin's automatic machine gun.

H. O. Flipper, a graduate of West Point, author of "The Colored Cadets at West Point," and formerly a captain in the United States Army, started out gloriously, but seems to be floundering somewhat now. He successfully drained the ponds and swamp lands about Fort Sill in Indian Territory, and was then employed by the Mexican Government to assist in making a survey of Chihuahua. He was later employed by the Sonora Land Company of New Mexico. He and the United States Government seemed to have some misunderstanding about the appropriation of funds and severed relations. I understand that he is now in Mexico, and not a dead dog by any means. The latest report is that he has regained his standing in the United States

Army. Mr. D. F. Black of Mechanicsburg, Mich., has taken out several patents.

Now we come to Granville T. Woods of Cincinnati, the greatest inventor and mechanical genius our race has yet produced. He started a factory in Cincinnati and has won repute and made money as an electrician and manufacturer of telephonic, telegraphic and electrical instruments. He invented the electric telephone transmitter used in connection with the Bell telephone. He invented a new system of electrical motors for the street railroad and also the synchronous multiplex railway telegraphy, by means of which communication may be had with a train while it is in motion, thus oftentimes preventing a collision. He has patented more than twenty electrical devices and electrical inventions. It is said that he sold his electric telephone transmitter to the Bell Company for \$10,000.

Some think that Tanner was the first colored painter to attain distinction and win honors; but it is not so. Mr. M. E. Bannister of Providence, R. I., attracted the attention of the country thirty years ago. I remember, when I was a sophomore, meeting him at the pavilion on the Newport beach in the fall of 1892. He seemed very buoyant, optimistic and enthusiastic for an elderly gentleman. Bannister's painting, "Under the Oaks" or "A New England Pasture," was awarded the first gold medal at the great Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, Pa., in 1876. That painting was afterwards sold for \$1,500.

Richard Allen, the founder of the A. M. E. Church, and the learned and puritanic Bishop Daniel Payne, author of "Recollections of Seventy Years," have wrought nobly, the first in asserting the spiritual independence and manhood of the Negro church and Negro ministry; the second in raising the moral and intellectual tone of the Negro church. Charles L. Remond, flourishing in Boston seventy years ago, famous as an anti-slavery orator before Douglass took the field in 1842; Hon. E. B. Bassett of New Haven, Conn., ex-United States minister to Hayti a quarter of a century ago; the late John Mercer Langston, lawyer, United States Congressman, United States minister to Hayti, and dean of the Howard University Law School, and Hon. John P. Green of Washington, D. C., formerly a lawyer in Cleveland, Ohio, who in 1873 was elected justice of

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EMERY T. MORRIS  
of Cambridge, Mass. (Deputy Sealer  
of Weights and Measures)



CHARLES E. CHAPMAN  
of Cambridge, Mass. (in Boston Postal  
Service for 38 years)



LAWYER EDWIN G. WALKER  
(whom Gov. Ben Butler recommended for  
the Charleston judgeship)



ROBERT MORRIS  
Boston's first Colored Lawyer



the peace in Cleveland by a majority of 3,000 votes, and who decided more than 12,000 cases in eight years, also in 1881 elected a member of the Ohio Legislature, are four men who, by their wide range of information, refined and polished manner of writing and speaking, gave the Negro intellectual standing when the educated men of the race were few and far between. Douglass was not in the same class with Remond for polish as a speaker. Before the war, they were thinking of electing Remond a member of an exclusive literary society of Boston. Hon. E. D. Bassett could converse in French with ease and fluency, could read and write German with ease and facility, and was a ripe scholar and a charming conversationalist.

Thirty years ago there were few colored men living like Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, United States minister to Liberia, a scholar, orator and preacher of note and distinction. He was a high-minded, high-spirited Christian gentleman. He was a brave man. When a white mob attacked the little colored school in Canaan, N. Y., Garnett, then a boy, fired a return shot and the mob withdrew and permitted the boys to depart in peace. That act was characteristic of the man.

James Trotter, the father of the editor and the recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, and the author of "Music and Some Musical People," was a fine specimen of the best type of the American Negro. A brave soldier, a resourceful business man, an able writer, an uncompromising idealist, he was respected and esteemed by all who knew him, white and black alike.

Then, too, the late Lawyer James Wolff of Boston, formerly judge advocate-general of the Grand Army of the Republic and commander of the G. A. R. Post of Massachusetts, was a conspicuous example of a colored soldier whose worth and merit has been recognized by his Caucasian associates. He delivered the Fourth of July oration in Boston in 1910. He and his law partner, Edward Everett Brown, an impassioned orator, had a strong law firm. Lawyers Robert Morris and E. G. Walker of Boston, thirty and forty years ago each had a \$3,000-a-year practice, most of it coming from the Irish people at a time when the Irish of New York were mobbing the Negroes. Walker was a stalwart, pure-blooded Negro orator of imposing and dignified physique. He was a bold asserter of Negro manhood, and in

his later years was the dean and Nestor of the colored orators of New England. In the late Judge George L. Ruffin of Boston, Mass.; in the late Senator B. K. Bruce, register of the treasury; in Hon. Judson Lyons, ex-register of the treasury; and in Postmaster William Dupree of South Boston, Mass., we have four colored office-holders whose sound judgment, integrity of character and courteous manners won the esteem of their white associates and business men of both races.

The late Editor W. G. White of the *Georgia Baptist* was one of the pioneers in Negro journalism. He had a simple and a well-equipped office. The success of the Macon Conference, which he called, shows him to have been a manly and conservative leader of his race. "Josh" Wilson, presiding elder of the M. E. Church in South Carolina, and for about twenty-five or thirty years postmaster at Florence, S. C., was the prince of diplomats. Parties have changed; Republicans have come and gone, and yet Wilson remained postmaster of Florence for over a quarter of a century. By his tact and suave manners, he has conquered Southern prejudice. Gibbs of Florida was one of the rare colored leaders during reconstruction days. He was secretary of state in Florida, and afterwards secretary of education. He was respected and esteemed by colored and white alike. Joseph Lee, collector of internal revenue at Jacksonville, Fla., an orator, lawyer, political leader and student of literature, is an A. M. E. preacher at the same time. He is an adroit manipulator of men, keeps his counsels to himself, is a polished orator and can discourse elegantly on the beauties of Homer, Dante, Milton and Shakespeare.

Colonel Bill Pledger of Atlanta, Ga., and N. W. Cuney of Texas were two famous leaders. Colonel Bill Pledger was rather short of stature, but broad-shouldered and deep-chested, with a stentorian voice. He had a wide-awake Western air and manner, and was a born leader of men. He was fearless, autocratic, but sympathetic, and he was a level-headed, magnanimous fellow. As a mob orator, he could make the welkin ring. Cuney was collector of the Port of Galveston, Texas and was a man of wealth and influence in Texas.

Who has not heard of Bishop Henry M. Turner of the A. M. E. Church? He is a law unto himself. The late Bishops Grant,

Derricks and Salters were remarkable personalities, and in Bishops Tyree, Walters and Clinton we have able men. But Turner is the noblest Roman of them all. He is the grand old man of the Negro race. Built like an oak, with a bold, fearless, lionlike face, awful in its majesty and conscious power, gifted with common sense, a splendid imagination and rough, native wit and humor, and endowed by nature with a powerful bass voice that can speak in trumpet tones, you have a mob orator who can awe an audience with a look. And when he is aroused, he is like a roaring lion.

President J. S. Flipper of Morris Brown College, President W. H. Goler of Livingston College and the late President D. J. Sanders of Biddle University have succeeded admirably well as educators. Bishop Flipper was president of Morris Brown College with over 1,000 enrolled members, probably the largest Negro college in the world. Like Frederick Douglass he is a splendid specimen of a man, physically, mentally and morally. He is a born ruler and leader of men. As an organizer he ranks highly. He has succeeded as pastor and educator and bishop. With his executive ability, iron will, tact and judgment, he has done big things.

#### THE LATE WILLIAM HOWARD DAY.

Professor William Howard Day, the Edward Everett of the colored race, was born in New York City and graduated from Oberlin College in 1847, the only colored man in a class of fifty, working in a printing office to pay his way through. He took a prominent part in the repeal of the "Black Laws" of Ohio in 1849, having been, with John L. Watson, elected by the colored citizens to address the State Legislature, in the hall of the House of Representatives. In 1852 he was the orator at Cleveland, Ohio, at the assembling of the colored veterans of the war of 1842. In the same year he was chairman of a committee of citizens of Cleveland to address Louis Kossuth of Hungary. He established the *Aliened America* and was local editor of the *True Democrat*. He welcomed to Cleveland, Professor Gottfried Kinkel, and later offered resolutions in behalf of German liberty. In 1858 he was elected at Chatham, Canada, by a convention of citizens of Canada and the United States, as

president of the National Board of Commissioners of Colored People. At the beginning of the war he, with Dr. Delaney and Professor Campbell of the Institute for Colored Youth, met in London and established the African Aid Society. He was received by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. He addressed an audience of 3,000 in the Music Hall of Dublin, lectured with success in Edinburgh and other Scottish towns. He addressed 200 noblemen and gentlemen at Whitehall, England. At Hull, he lectured in place of Gerald Massey and wife, and at Burton-on-Trent supplied the place of Father Gwaril, and addressed the Y. M. C. A., and for four months filled the pulpit of a large Congregational Church in Lincolnshire, England. He declined a professorship in an English Classical Academy. He delivered a wonderful address at the great emancipation meeting in Cooper Institute, New York City, was assigned duty in connection with the parent Freedman's Association and addressed several meetings with Horace Greeley. He spoke in Rochester, N. Y., and eclipsed Frederick Douglass and every other colored speaker.

In 1869, Professor Day organized the colored citizens of Wilmington, N. C., as voters and changed the representation in the lower house of Congress. In 1870, he was editor of *Our National Progress*. In 1872 he was a clerk in the corporation department of the Auditor-General's office of Pennsylvania. In 1878 he was elected school director at Harrisburg, Pa., the first colored man elected to that body. He served three years and was secretary of the committee on teachers. He was reelected in 1881, declined the election in 1884, and in 1887 was elected as the Republican candidate, the Democrats refusing to nominate anyone against him. He, J. C. Price, William H. Goler and Solomon Porter Hood, were the quartette that launched Livingston College.

Dr. William Wells Brown, on pages 499 and 500 of his work entitled "The Rising Sun," says:

As a speaker, Mr. Day may be regarded as one of the most effective of the present time; has great self-possession and gaiety of imagination; is rich in the selection of his illustrations, well versed in history, literature, science and philosophy, and can draw on his finely-stored memory at will.

He is a mulatto of ordinary size, has a large and well-balanced head, high forehead, bright eyes, intellectual and pleasing countenance, genteel figure, and is what the ladies would call "a handsome man."

Dr. James E. Mason, the financial secretary of Livingston College, who was born in Pennsylvania a little more than half a century ago, and made a wonderful record as a preacher and evangelist in New York State in the eighties and who has since spoken in Dr. Hillis's famous church, in the leading white Y. M. C. A.'s of the country and before Chautauquas in Silver Lake and the West, has paid such a memorable tribute to Professor J. C. Price that I will quote it. Professor J. C. Price, a graduate of Lincoln University, was the founder and first president of Livingston College, Salisbury, N. C.

DR. MASON'S ADDRESS.

The career of the late President Joseph Charles Price was one of the most remarkable of American history. Within a decade, he arose from comparative obscurity and stamped the impress of his genius on two continents. Like a brilliant meteor he flashed upon us and then disappeared below the horizon, but like the eternal stars, he still shines on. Physically and intellectually he was a fine specimen of the splendid possibilities of the Afro-American.

Entering upon life's work, his unusual devotion to duty, exceptional intellectuality, and rare oratorical power, soon commanded widespread attention. His fame leaped beyond the boundaries of his church, and the great educational conventions were swayed and delighted with the rising race champion. His views on the perplexing racial problems were broad and comprehensive. He believed most thoroughly in the Constitution, and that marvelous instrument, in its equitable application, included all classes of American citizens. For, said he in substance, "What avail the plow or sail, or land or life, if freedom fail?"

Like the late Henry Ward Beecher, of precious memory, on special occasions he was often carried away by spiritual premonitions. In such mental processes, often like that peerless pulpit orator, he possessed the vision of a prophet or seer, and his eloquence was as overwhelming as his logic was irresistible.

In the year 1881, the great Ecumenical Conference of Methodism convened in the city of London. The most eminent theologians, distinguished clergymen, and eloquent orators of the different branches of the great denomination were gathered from all parts of the world. Many of them were of international fame as authors, zealous workers, men who had changed the course of public thought and lifted society to a higher plane of spiritual activity. There stood Dr. J. M. Buckley, editor, the greatest of religious controversialists; Dr. Pope, whose theological disquisitions had enriched ecclesiastical knowledge, and especially endeared him to the great branch of Wesleyism; Dr. Arthur, whose tongue of fire had

belted the Christian world and brought the day of Pentecost into thousands of hearts and homes; Bishop Simpson, whose pathetic and stirring eloquence so overawed vast assemblages that often many unconsciously left their seats and stood encircling the pulpit, the Chrysostom of modern ministry.

Naturally, questions of great importance affecting the present and future success of Methodism were interestingly and thoughtfully considered. The eminent speakers vied with each other in their forceful presentation. A special telegram to the New York *Tribune*, speaking of the gifted and eloquent debaters, said, "For impromptu address and eloquence par excellence, there is a genuine Negro orator who surpassed all white delegates." As the convention continued, among other questions, that of Africa naturally came up for review. Glowing and inspiring remarks had been made during the early morning for consideration. Ten minutes were assigned to each speaker. Later on in the discussion, a voice of unusual clearness commanded the ear of the chairman, the special attention of all the delegates and the great audience, as his massive form arose, and he commenced the speech of the day in a plea for Africa. His silvery voice and luminous sentences so stirred and animated his hearers, that at the end of ten minutes, in the midst of remarkable enthusiasm, a motion prevailed that the time limit be extended, and with marvelous felicity of expression, President Price continued to speak for forty minutes. Such an occurrence had not taken place in a deliberative assemblage in one hundred and seventeen years. It was an oratorical triumph.

Here was a genuine Afro-American, born during the dark and starless night of slavery, yet rising superior to his environments, and with the Christian intellectual world focused upon him speaking immortal truth as inbreathed by the Almighty.

Dr. Price, regardless of his great attainments, kept in touch with the masses of his race everywhere. With a scholarship that made him at home in company with the learned and philosophical, with tastes that might revel in the refinement of the select few, he still remained in his convictions, in his habit, in his home, in his sympathies, and in his affections a true brother and abiding friend.

His nature, like a mirror, reflected everything around it; the grass by the wayside, the clouds of the sky, the sunset and the stars.

Young in years, but full of good works and glorious achievements, he left us where manhood's morning kisses noon, and while the shadows were falling toward the west. Yonder upon the campus rest all that is mortal of the mighty dead. Dead, did I say? Is Martin Luther dead, is John Calvin, is John Knox dead? True, centuries have elapsed since their demise, and their dust long since has been gathered in earth's golden urn, but they live in the hearts of thousands who read their works and adore their transcendent achievements. And, so, notwithstanding the years that have intervened since Dr. Price stood within these classic halls or walked across the campus, inspiring all with his magnetic personality, he is with us still. He was, and is, and shall forever be.

"By daring hands the world's great tasks are done.  
There is a call for leaders;—he was one."

I regard the tragedy in the life of our distinguished Negroes, not that one Congressman practically died in the gutter, that a lieutenant-governor died a pauper, that other colored men who were at one time worth from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars died poor, but that a man of R. T. Greener's gift of mind and heart is not now recognized as the most prominent spokesman and leader for the educated Negro. Of all the colored pioneers in the intellectual world, Greener was by far the most brilliant. Not such a plodding and faithful student as Bouchet, not as exact and accurate a scholar in his college days, Greener nevertheless surpassed Bouchet in range of information and in ability as a writer and speaker. He was the first colored man to graduate from Harvard University, entering in 1865 and graduating with honors in 1870. George W. Williams says that Greener was turned back a year for alleged imperfection in mathematics. He won second prize in reading in his Freshman year, the Boyleston declamation in his sophomore year and the Boyleston prize for oratory and first Bowdoin prize for a dissertation on "The Tenures of Land in Ireland" in his Senior year. Then he ably held the position of principal of the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, principal of Sumner High School in Washington, D. C., professor of metaphysics in University of South Carolina, dean of law department of Howard University, secretary of Grant Monument Fund Committee, member of Civil Service Commission and consul to Vladivostok.

At the Social Science Congress at Saratoga, N. Y., about twenty-five years ago, he vanquished Douglass in debate when Douglass opposed the exodus of the Negroes from the South, and his speech at a dinner of the Harvard Club in New York a few years ago won him a great many encomiums. He was associated with ex-Governor Chamberlain as counsel for Cadet Whittaker in New York City.

Greener was a polished and finished writer, and as a speaker he was in no way inferior to Depew. Greener had a rich fund of information to draw upon and was at his best when he spoke in a pleasant reminiscent view or touched tender chords of sentiment. His voice was mellow, his manner of speaking was ele-

gant, and a mellifluous flow of words seemed to pour from his lips. He was a fascinating and charming conversationalist, and was a graceful, pleasing, felicitous speaker. When I heard him address a small group in Kelly Miller's home, at the time of McKinley's first inauguration, he gave reminiscences of his college life and Harvard days in the delightful manner of an Ik Marvel.

In the summer of 1895, when Booker T. Washington delivered his famous Atlanta speech, Douglass and Price were dead and the fighting days of Crummell, Downing and Langston were over. Greener was then about fifty years of age, when a man has been ripened and chastened and matured by experience and is in the full possession of his mental and physical vigor. Why didn't he leap to the front as DuBois does now? He lacked the heroic spirit of Crummell and DuBois. That was Greener's chance and opportunity to command the attention of the country and challenge admiration as the champion of the higher aspirations of the Negro. When the industrial surrender, civil and political rights wave swept over the country fifteen years ago, most of the educators, preachers, editors and politicians of the race lost their moorings and drifted with it. To DuBois belongs the honor of being the man who stayed the advancing tide of compromise that would have engulfed and submerged the entire Negro race.

FOOT NOTE.—Bishop Turner was the first colored chaplain to receive a commission from the United States Government. In 1863, he was a pastor of Israel Church, Washington, D. C., when he was called into the service of the Union Army. Bishop Wm. P. Derrick was born in the Island of Antigua, British West Indies, on July 27, 1843. He served during the Civil War, on the Minnesota, the flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron.







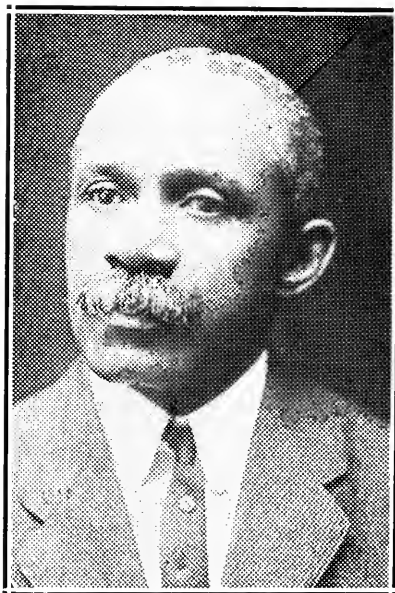
REV. J. MILTON WALDRON, D.D.  
of Washington, D. C., Pastor of the  
Shiloh Baptist Church



PROF. J. E. MASON, D.D.  
Secretary of Livingston College,  
Salisbury, N. C.



PROF. EDWARD A. BOUCHET, PH.D.  
First colored graduate of Yale University,  
who for twenty-six years taught in the  
Institute for Colored Youth  
in Philadelphia



REV. WM. R. LAWTON, D.D.  
Pastor of the St. James Presbyterian  
Church, New York City, and a  
writer for the Brooklyn  
press

## CHAPTER XLII.

### *Some Colored History Makers of To-Day.*

Some may wonder why I single out Bouchet of Yale and C. G. Morgan of Harvard as the two colored students who were ice breakers. Forty years ago a distinguished Southerner wrote to a prominent professor in Yale University that he did not desire his boy to sit alongside of a Negro. The professor replied that his wish would be gratified, as the students were graded and seated according to their qualifications and ability, that the colored student would go in the highest division while his son would go in the lowest. That colored student is now the genial and gracious Professor Edward Bouchet of Gallipolis, Ohio. He made a splendid record at Yale and received his Ph.D. degree. I well remember the sensation that swept over the country when Morgan was elected class orator at Harvard. I was a school boy then. It thrilled me and I worked like a Trojan. The result was I was chosen one of the Commencement speakers at the Hillhouse High School in New Haven, Conn., and spoke in the Hyperion before two thousand people. And when I went to Boston, in the fall of 1897, I again heard of the impression that Morgan produced upon his classmates.

The late Dr. George Franklin Grant of Boston, Mass., was a gentleman of the old school who was honored by being professor in the Harvard Dental School. The wealthiest men in Boston frequented his dental parlors. He was an aristocrat in the truest sense and was a man of wealth and influence.

There are said to be a dozen colored millionaires. The Lincoln family, of Dallas, Texas, consisting of three men and three women, was said by the *Galveston News*, over twenty years ago, to be worth about \$48,000,000. Groves, the potato king of Kansas, is said to be very wealthy. It is reported that there is a colored farmer in Florida who is worth over one million dollars. Ellis, a colored member of the New York Stock Exchange, is said to be worth two or three millions. Robert Church of Memphis, Tenn., and Calvin Johnson of Knoxville, Tenn., were

reported as being worth nearly half a million dollars. Wiley Jones of Pine Bluff, Ark., owns a street car railroad, race track and park. The late W. C. Coleman was the principal stockholder in the cotton mill of Concord, N. C., which at one time was capitalized at \$30,000. William Still of Philadelphia was a coal dealer. W. C. Atwood was a lumber merchant and capitalist. Mrs. Mars of New York was rated at \$100,000, and D. C. White of New York at \$130,000. Then Mr. Merrick, a colored barber of Durham, N. C., owns thirty or forty houses and is worth at least \$50,000. Cody Bryant of Jasper County, Ga., is worth \$200,000. And I suppose that there are two or three hundred colored persons in the country worth from \$50,000 to \$100,000. W. C. Atwood of East Saginaw, Mich., is one of the largest lumber dealers in the world. He is worth over \$100,000 and is the only colored member of the Board of Trade of his State.

The two bona-fide millionaires that our race has produced are the late Colonel John McKee of Philadelphia, and Don Juan Knight of Guatemala. When Colonel McKee died three or four years ago it was discovered that he was actually worth \$5,000,000. His wealth was largely invested in real estate, shares in copper and oil mines, and other gilt-edge securities. E. A. Johnson, in his school history of the Negro Race quotes at length from the *Maxton Blade*, but I will only briefly quote from it. The *Blade* says of Don Juan Knight, who lives in the city of Guatemala:

He was born a slave in the State of Alabama. He owns gold mines, large coffee and banana farms, is the second largest dealer in mahogany in the world, owns a bank and pays his employees \$200,000 a year. His wealth is estimated at \$70,000,000. He contributed largely to educational institutions, has erected hospitals, etc.

Samuel Harris of Williamsburg, Va., started business about forty years ago with \$70. In 1906 he did business of \$55,000 a year, owned ninety-six building lots in Williamsburg, four large farms in Virginia, and property in Richmond, Norfolk and Newport News, Va. All of his goods were shipped in his own vessels and manned by his own crews.

I will briefly tell of other colored history makers and what they did. The late Professor W. G. Simmons, formerly president of the Louisville, Ky., Baptist Institute, was the author of "Men of Mark." In Bishops Abram Grant, William Derrick, Tyree,

and the late Bishops Ward and Dickerson, the A. M. E. Church has produced eloquent preachers. In the late Bishops Wayman and Brown, B. W. Arnett, S. M. B. Salters and Handy and Gaines and Bishop L. V. Coppin, she has produced quiet but forceful speakers, but I believe that next to Bishops Paine and Turner, Bishops B. F. Lee and B. T. Tanner are the history makers of the church. Bishop Lee was formerly president of Wilberforce University, while Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner was editor of the *Christian Recorder*, the *A. M. E. Church Review*, and is the author of "An Apology for African Methodism." A quarter of a century ago, President S. T. Mitchel of Wilberforce University and Professor Peter H. Clark, author of "History of the Black Brigade," did noble work as educators.

Rt. Rev. J. Albert Johnson, D.D., formerly pastor of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church of Washington, D. C., completed his education in Edinburgh, Scotland. He, with the possible exception of Bishop L. V. Coppin, is the best exegetical preacher in the A. M. E. Church. He was a devoted admirer of Dr. Crummell. He is now serving as missionary bishop and his diocese is Africa, the Dark Continent.

Two gifted young men died before their prime. It was never my good fortune to meet them, but I have followed in their wake and have heard many good things of them. They were Rev. L. B. Maxwell and Professor Thomas S. Gibbs of Florida. In Jacksonville, Fla., Charleston, S. C., Augusta and Savannah, Ga., I heard of Rev. L. B. Maxwell, who developed the Congregational church of Savannah, Ga., made it self-supporting, and was such a talented leader of the young men. Later he was one of the international secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. Professor T. S. Gibbs, the son of the famous statesman and educator of Florida, was vice president of the State Normal College of Tallahassee, Fla. He, more than President Tucker, was the life of the college, and after his death President Tucker was unequal to the task of directing and managing the college. It went to pieces under his hands. He was retired and his place filled by President Nathaniel Young, a graduate of Oberlin College. Under his able management, it has been brought back to the high point of efficiency that it had reached when the wise and tactful Gibbs went to a premature grave, overworked and worn out by his

efforts to build up the school and educate the colored youth of Florida.

The late President William Decker Johnson of Allen University, Columbia, S. C., was born in Baltimore, Md. He was one of the early graduates of Lincoln University. He graduated in 1868, and was said to be the first colored graduate of Lincoln University after the emancipation. He is one of the pioneers in Negro education and was pastor for thirty-one years in Georgia, and served twelve years as educational secretary of the A. M. E. church, and founded the systems. He served from 1884 to 1896. President Johnson was an inspirer of young men. He was a unique orator of the old-fashioned type, blending philosophic insight, imaginative flights, close reasoning, hard, horse sense and native wit and humor in his personality and discourse. He begins to speak in an awkward, apologetic, embarrassed, timid and hesitating manner, but in a few minutes he is delving into philosophy and logic and giving you the results of his mature thought and ripe experience, and he always winds up with an outburst of real eloquence that almost lifts the audience off its feet. Under his wise and energetic administration Allen University took on a new lease of life and bounded forward with renewed vigor. He resigned from the presidency of that institution in 1908, returned to the pastorate and has since gone to his reward.

Principal E. E. Smith of the Fayetteville State Normal School, N. C., was formerly United States Minister to Liberia. He, like the great DeGrasse and Alexander Crummell, possesses that culture and polish which comes from acquaintance with books and travel in the old world.

Principal T. S. Inborden of the Joseph K. Brick School, is a graduate of Fiske, who has built up a splendid school. Probably no colored college has a finer set of buildings than the Brick School, and we see in Inborden the practical results of the higher education of the Negro.

Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland of Newport, R. I., owns and operates an X-ray machine and has successfully attended some of the richest summer residents of the City by the Sea.

The fact that I have quoted from Professor E. H. Johnson's "School History of the Negro" half a dozen times is evidence

that I have a high regard for his lucid history. Professor Johnson formerly taught in Shaw University, but is now a practicing lawyer in New York City.

Attorney Henry A. Macbeth of Savannah, Ga., is a cultured, refined and aristocratic Charlestonian, who is the rising Republican leader of Savannah. He won his case for little Rosa Tully, and thus established a precedent. The *Savannah Press* of November 5, 1904, says that Rosa holds the distinction, so far as the records show, of being the only Negro child to inherit a white man's property in Georgia. The question at issue was whether a white man, under the laws of the State of Georgia, could transfer property to a colored child. The estate was valued at \$33,000. Attorney Macbeth, by his masterly handling, won the case for little Rosa Tully and her mother, Mrs. Rosa Tully, the colored widow of Charles Tully, a white man.

George S. W. Williams, formerly a teacher, but now a railway mail clerk, is a splendid specimen of the finest type of the younger Negro. A few years ago he delivered the emancipation address in Savannah, which for scholarship and eloquence was a masterpiece. He owns considerable property, is deacon of the Congregational Church, member of the executive committee of the Men's Sunday Club, and a potent factor in holding up high ideals before the colored youths of Savannah. I know of no more useful and influential colored man in private life. I believe that if Tom Dixon were to meet his beautiful and refined wife he would have a higher regard and esteem for colored women.

Editor Solomon C. Johnson of the *Savannah Tribune* is a journalist of intelligence, tact, manliness and principle. The influence of his paper is felt throughout Savannah.

Lindsley S. Reed is the president and manager of the Union Savings and Loan Company. He is an alert, ambitious, resourceful business man, and a born orator. He is brilliant, magnetic, and fluent. His buoyant personality inspires confidence. His voice is masterful and musical, and he possesses some of the pluck, grit, nerve, dash and enthusiasm that made Roosevelt the idol of the country. We see in him a manly and strenuous nature successfully grappling with the financial problems that confront the Negro at the dawn of the twentieth century. He is a moving force in the Men's Sunday Club, the Republican Poll Tax Club,

the State Fair Association, and the Asbury M. E. Church. In short, his hands are upon the throttle valves of the pulsing business life of the Savannah Negro.

Most of the colored men who entered West Point have had hard luck. Cadet Whittaker is reported to have been bound and his ears sliced by some of his fellow students. Captain Flipper became involved in some snares and entanglements, but has now returned to the army. Professor Alexander, another graduate of West Point, died while professor of mathematics and military science at Wilberforce University. Colonel Charles Young seems to have been very fortunate. He entered the Spanish War as major of the United States Volunteers in the 36th Regiment. He is now colonel. He has been professor of military science at Wilberforce. He served in the 9th and 10th Cavalry. At the beginning of the Spanish American War he was a major of the 9th Battalion and the only Negro commissioned officer in the United States Army. At the close of the war he was a colonel of the 61st Regiment in the Ohio National Volunteers.

There are now seven other commissioned officers besides Major or Colonel Young. Three of them are line officers, three are chaplains and one a paymaster. Theophilus C. Stewart, the writer, formerly of Washington, was the most prominent of the chaplains. Allen Allensworth and George Washington Priolean are the other chaplains. During the Spanish-American War, Congressman John R. Lynch served as an additional paymaster of volunteers, with the rank of major. Then he was permanent paymaster, with the rank of captain. Lieutenant B. C. Davis of the Tenth Cavalry is now military instructor at Wilberforce University. Lieutenant J. E. Green of the Twenty-fifth Infantry is now with Company H at Fort Bliss, Texas. Major or Colonel Charles Young, who is now military attache at Port au Prince, Hayti, is the pioneer of this group of commissioned officers.

And now we come to two martyrs, Granville Martin and ex-United States Marshal Deas. Granville Martin is the colored butler who was a martyr for free speech. He and William Monroe Trotter of the Boston *Guardian* precipitated the Boston riot in July, 1903, when they put a few questions to Dr. Washington at a public mass meeting in Boston. For their



love of liberty of speech they spent a month in the Charles Street jail, but their heroism shed a lustre to that jail which it never had before. At first I regarded Trotter as a martyr, but his imprisonment gave him the leadership of the Negro race in Massachusetts for a time. He is to DuBois what Sherman was to Grant.

Postmasters Vick and Thorpe, Collector Rucker and Marshal Deas, who were supplanted by white men, are the victims of the lily-white policies of the McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft administrations. W. H. Vick, postmaster at Wilson, N. C., was turned down by the lily-white policy of President McKinley and Judge (then Senator) Pritchard. Postmaster Thorpe of Kittrell, N. C., was turned down by the lily-white policy of President Roosevelt and Pritchard. Prominent local white men petitioned for the continuance of these two postmasters in office. A white man succeeded the polished and gentlemanly H. E. Rucker as collector of the internal revenue in Georgia. A factional split and non-popularity with local political organizations caused his removal. United States Marshal Deas of South Carolina, a member of the National Republican Committee, was fought by John G. Capers, a reformed Democrat. He fought the lily-white policy of Roosevelt and was turned down. Hence we must regard him as the political martyr of our race. His position as United States Marshal paid him about \$6,000 a year.

The career of Postmaster Dupree of Boston is quite remarkable. William H. Dupree was born in Petersburg, Va., March 13, 1839, the family later going to Chillicothe, Ohio. He received his education in the common schools until nineteen years of age, at which time he lost his father. Seeking employment, he was engaged as a messenger at the headquarters of the Marietta and Cincinnati Railroad until the outbreak of the Civil War.

In common with all young colored men, Mr. Dupree was enthusiastic in his desire to strike a blow for the freedom of his people, and gladly tendered Hon. John M. Langston his services to bring to Boston, Mass., thirty-seven young men, most of them the flower of colored society in the West, to help make up the Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers, and entered Camp Meigs, Readville, Mass., June 5, 1863. Frederick Douglass and George T. Downing also recruited colored soldiers.

Mr. Dupree was made first sergeant, Company H, on June 25 of the same year. The regiment reached Folly Island July 25, 1863, and Mr. Dupree was commissioned second lieutenant 55th Massachusetts Volunteers, July 1, 1864, by Governor John A. Andrew, but was refused muster in as an officer on account of color and legal enactment, by General Hatch, commanding the Department of South Carolina. He was finally mustered in as second lieutenant July 1, 1865, at Charleston, S. C.

At the famous battle of Honey Hill the Fifty-fifth occupied the most perilous position throughout the engagement. Three times these heroic men marched up the hill and were swept back by the iron hail of grape-shot and shell. More than one hundred men were lost in half an hour. What the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment was at Wagner and Olustee, Fla., the Fifty-fifth was at Honey Hill.

In this battle Lieutenant James M. Trotter, later recorder of deeds at Washington, D. C., and a relative of Lieutenant Dupree, was wounded but fought on. Lieutenant Charles L. Mitchell also was severely wounded in this battle, losing his right foot. Mr. Dupree was mustered out as second lieutenant, Company I, serving until the regiment returned to Boston, October 25, 1865.

He was appointed a letter carrier at Station A, Boston, Mass., February 12, 1866, where he served until May, 1874, when he was appointed a clerk at Boston by Postmaster William L. Burt. On October 1, 1874, he was promoted to be superintendent of Station A, which position he still holds.

When Mr. Dupree took charge in 1874, the office employed five clerks and nine carriers. The force has been increased until twenty-five clerks, fifty-one carriers, and eight substitute carriers are required, and the office does a business in stamps and other sales of \$140,000, and money orders to the amount of \$125,000 per annum. The station is one of the largest in the city of Boston.

Mr. Dupree was appointed chairman of the commissioners for the disbursement of the Firemen's Relief Fund of Massachusetts by Governor John Q. A. Brackett, July 24, 1890, and served one year.

In 1892 Mr. Dupree was mentioned for the office of state auditor, and would have undoubtedly secured the position if he had been persistent.

Mr. Dupree was chairman of the committee in charge of the dedication ceremonies attending the unveiling of the Crispus Attucks monument on Boston Common, November 4, 1888, serving in company with Governor Ames, Butler R. Wilson, Lewis Hayden and others. Mr. Dupree was secretary of the committee which brought the colored veterans from all over the country together to be present at the unveiling of the memorial to Colonel Shaw and his brave black followers, May 31, 1897.

He owns valuable real estate in the popular section of Boston. Mr. Dupree is a past commander of Post 68, Department of Massachusetts, Grand Army of the Republic, having held the commander's place in 1895. This post numbers 297 men, three of whom were colored comrades.

Mr. Dupree was married to Miss Lizzie M. Isaacs of Chillicothe, Ohio, June 23, 1871. She comes of a prominent family of Chillicothe, and the union has been a happy one.

We have had some remarkable colored women. Harriet Tubman was the brave colored woman who made several trips to the Southland, each time bringing off slaves at the peril of her own life. Mrs. Sojourner Truth was the stalwart woman of rare common sense who once asked Frederick Douglass, when he despaired of the success of the anti-slavery cause, "Is God dead?" They have crossed the Great Divide, but they have left the memory of noble lives behind them.

Mrs. F. J. Grimke of Washington, D. C., and Miss Mariah Baldwin, principal of the Agassiz Grammar School, Cambridge, with ten or twelve cultured white teachers under her, broke the ice for colored teachers in the North. Over forty years ago, Mrs. Grimke, then Miss Forten, taught in Salem, Mass. Her fine literary taste and gracious manners made a lasting impression upon Colonel Higginson and other abolitionists. I am inclined to think that Mrs. Grimke's culture and refinement paved the way for Miss Baldwin's appointment. When we consider that Boston is the most cultivated city in America, if not in the world; when we consider that the wealthiest white citizens in Cambridge send their children to the school over which Miss Baldwin presides as principal; when we consider that she teaches in a prominent white Sunday school, and that she is an honored member of some of the leading literary and social clubs of Boston and

Cambridge, we can well understand something of the greatness of Miss Baldwin's achievement. Her tact and ready sympathy, her innate refinement, her calm, serene temper, and her dignified bearing, have all combined to make her a distinguished exponent of the refined colored woman.

Miss Charlotte L. Forten wrote the parting hymn for the graduating class in the Higginson High School, Salem, Mass., and was a contributor to the *Anti-Slavery Standard* and the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The late Mrs. Francis E. W. Harper of Philadelphia, the late Mrs. Victoria Earl Matthews of New York City, and Mrs. A. Cooper, former principal of the M Street High School, Washington, D. C., and author of "A Voice from the South," were among the first colored women to attract attention as writers. Mrs. Matthews was a self-educated woman. She possessed a French delicacy of perception and a poetic imagination. A delicate vein of sentiment runs through her writings. Ten or fifteen years ago her addresses and articles in newspapers attracted attention on account of their fire, dash, brilliancy and enthusiasm.

How Mrs. Fannie Jackson Coppin, who recently passed away, built up the Institute for the Colored Youth in Philadelphia, Pa., is well known. But Miss Lucy C. Laney, principal of the Haines Normal School, Augusta, Ga., has duplicated the work of Mrs. Coppin. She started a small work in Augusta and to-day has a splendid school of 700 enrolled students and twenty-two teachers. In the Rev. Mr. Adams she has or had a fine chaplain. In our age, when so many prominent colored men and women are bowing the knee to Baal, worshiping the brazen calf and forgetting that the Negro has a soul, Miss Lucy C. Laney has remained loyal and true to the highest traditions and highest ideals of her alma mater, Atlanta University.

Of our women in public life, Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett of Chicago, Ill., has done splendid work as an anti-lynching agitator, especially by her lectures in England. Mrs. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, the brilliant Mary Church Terrell of Washington, Miss Elizabeth Carter of New Bedford and Mrs. John Dickerson of Newport, R. I., have wrought a great work for the race in leading the Woman's Era movement. The late Mrs. Ida D. Bailey of Washington, D. C., was one of the most forceful colored women

in public life. Her interest in Howard University and in the Home for Destitute Colored Women and Children and Old People in Washington is well known. But this is her title to fame in my estimation. Ten years ago, when the discussion raged regarding the higher industrial education of the Negro and his civil and political rights, and so many of our prominent leaders were at sea, Mrs. Bailey was among the few who sighted the port in the storm. She saw clearly where lay the dangerous rocks and treacherous shoals, and her eloquent words in the Bethel Literary in behalf of the higher aspirations of the Negro and his manhood rights will long be remembered in Washington, D. C.

Theodore Roosevelt was not only one of the most popular Presidents we have ever had, but he is one of the most forceful and magnetic personalities in the world to-day. Perhaps since the days of Napoleon never has any one man so completely riveted the attention of the world upon his every movement. The charge of his "Rough Riders" up San Juan Hill, his rising in spite of the organized effort of political rings and political bosses to keep him down, his winning the coveted honor that Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Greeley, Blaine, Reed and Sherman struggled for in vain, his being the only Vice President seizing the sceptre of power by the death of the President to be elected President in his own right; all these things combined have made Roosevelt a popular idol and a popular hero.

In his Southern trip in 1906 every movement and utterance of his was wired over the country. If he sneezed the whole country heard it. If he yawned the whole country saw it. It was a significant fact of his Southern trip that he visited only two colored schools which were manned and captained by colored teachers and principals, thus showing his interest in the efforts of the colored men to lift their own people. His addresses to these two schools were scattered broadcast by the Associated Press and read eagerly. These two schools were Tuskegee Institute and the Florida Baptist Academy, Jacksonville, Fla., whose principal is N. W. Collier. The papers reported that President Roosevelt was charmed and captivated by the singing of the latter school and he said, "I must tell you how much I enjoyed your singing; I am glad to see an institute carried on as this one is evidently carried on."

Every bootblack and chimney sweep had heard of Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington, but who is Professor Collier, and what is the Florida Baptist College? were the questions eagerly asked. The fact that Howard, Fisk, Wilberforce, Atlanta, Tuskegee and Hampton, the Himalayas of Negro education, were so constantly in the limelight of the public gaze has blinded the public to the fact that the Southland is dotted with schools and colleges which, while not so large and conspicuous and heavily endowed as Tuskegee and Hampton, are doing in their humble way just as valuable and necessary work. The Florida Baptist College is one of these. Its quartette, whose leader was Sidney Woodward, the sweet tenor of national repute, has delighted large audiences in both Florida and Northern cities and resorts. Such, in brief, is the Florida Baptist College. Its discipline is well nigh perfect.

The unique thing about this school is the fact that most of the money for its foundation came from colored people of moderate means. But its real spiritual birth was in the hills of Norwich, Conn. From Norwich came a gifted and chivalric young man, sprung from one of New England's noble families, who incarnated his dream of life in Atlanta University. What Yale and Harvard had done for the youth of New England, that Atlanta University should do for the Negro of the South, was his thought. There were two colored students of Atlanta who left the walls of that institution loyal to its traditions and ideals. They had caught the missionary spirit of Ware, the cultured Anglo-Saxon, and they resolved to be apostles of culture to their people. They were Miss Sarah A. Blocker and Principal N. W. Collier. Miss Blocker came as one of the founders of the Florida Baptist College and Principal Collier two years after its establishment. So the school may rightly be regarded as a monument to the untiring, heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of these two Atlanta University products.

The first time I met Principal Collier, twelve years ago, I was impressed by the fact that he possessed plenty of hard common sense, resourcefulness of mind, buoyancy of spirit and fluency of speech, and a closer acquaintance has confirmed this impression. He is tactful, wide-awake, energetic and progressive. As a speaker he is ready and deliberate, with plenty of fire when the

occasion requires. Slowly but surely the Florida Baptist College is gaining friends in the North and East and its future outlook is hopeful and encouraging.

Rev. E. M. Brawley, A.M., D.D., former pastor of the First Baptist Church of Fernandina, Fla., and dean of the theological department of the Florida Baptist College, Jacksonville, Fla., is the educational pioneer amongst the colored Baptists. He is a polished, refined gentleman, gracious and winning in his manners, generous in his sympathy, and aristocratic in his ideals. He is one of the greatest Biblical scholars of the race, and is a pious and devout student of the New Testament. In 1875 he graduated from Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., being the first colored man so honored. Then he became a missionary in South Carolina for the American Baptist Publication Society. In October, 1883, he became president of what is now known as Selma University. Then it was known as the Alabama Baptist Normal and Theological School. Dr. Simmons, in "Men of Mark," says that in one year he reconstructed the school, graded it, put in a collegiate department, and doubled the number of students. He became district secretary for the South for the American Baptist Publication Society. Later he was pastor of the First Baptist Church of Petersburg, Va., the oldest Baptist Church in America. After that he again became district secretary for the American Baptist Publication Society. Since then he has pastored in Greenville, S. C., Darien, Ga., and Palatka, Fla. He has done considerable literary work. In January, 1887, he edited the *Baptist Tribune*, a weekly newspaper. For several years he was expositor for Sunday School lessons for the National Publishing Board. And he has been editorial secretary of the National Publishing Board under the auspices of the National Baptist Convention.

His son, Griffin Brawley, who received his A.B. degree from Chicago University in 1906, is professor of English literature in Atlanta Baptist College. He has written some very clever poetry. His critique upon Phyllis Wheatley, which appeared in the *Voice of the Negro*, is probably the most luminous and penetrating critique upon that gifted but undeveloped poet.

One of the most brilliant scholars and preachers in the Negro pulpit is the Rev. Dr. M. W. Gilbert, president of Selma University, Selma, Ala. Dr. Gilbert was born at Mechanicsville, Lee

County, S. C., on July 25, 1862, his parents being the Rev. Mark Gilbert and his wife Mary. Early in life, Dr. Gilbert attended the public schools of his home, and after his profession of religion was sent, in 1879, by his father, to Benedict Institute, now Benedict College, at Columbia, S. C. He remained there a little more than three years, completing the college preparatory course in the spring of 1883. In the fall of 1883 he entered Colgate University at Hamilton, N. Y. After a rigid examination, he entered the freshman class as third man among twenty white applicants for matriculation. In the year 1887, he graduated from Colgate with the degree of A.B. During his sophomore year he was chosen on merit to compete for the Kingsford prize for excellence in declamation, and won the first prize. This was the first time in the history of Colgate that a colored man was chosen to compete for the Kingsford prize, and therefore the first time that a colored man succeeded in winning the prize. During his stay at Colgate, Dr. Gilbert distinguished himself as a student, particularly in the languages. During his whole college career he was chosen by his white classmates as their secretary and treasurer, and during his senior year he was elected class historian. Dr. Gilbert has also graduated from the Union Theological Seminary of New York City with the degree of B.D.

In 1890 Colgate University conferred upon him the degree of M.A. He has also received the degree of D.D. from Guadalupe College, at Seguin, Texas.

Dr. Gilbert has been pastor of the First Baptist Church of Nashville, Tenn., of the Bethel Baptist Church of Jacksonville, Fla., the First African Baptist Church of Savannah, Ga., located on West Broad Street, the Central Baptist Church of Charleston, S. C., and of the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, New York City. Since his graduation he has also been engaged in the education of the race, having been the principal of the Florida Institute at Live Oak, Fla., the founder and principal of the Florida Baptist Academy of Jacksonville, Fla., professor of political science, history and modern languages in the Colored State College at Orangeburg, S. C., and professor of French, Greek and theology in Benedict College at Columbia, S. C.

He has been editor thrice: in Nashville, of the Baptist *Headlight*; in Jacksonville, of the *Southern Courier*; and in Columbia,



S. C., of the *South Carolina Standard*. As an editor, he is acknowledged to be a very able debater, uses a very trenchant pen, and is a master of the king's English. An opponent always finds in him a foeman worthy of his steel. Dr. Gilbert is very much in demand as a public speaker and as a preacher of the gospel.

Dr. Gilbert is a born student. His study contains one of the largest libraries in the possession of the race. He was and perhaps is now chairman of the Educational Board of the National Baptist Convention, and was largely entrusted with the project of establishing a theological seminary for the colored Baptists of the country at Nashville, Tenn.

In 1882, Dr. Gilbert was married in Columbia, S. C., to Miss Agnes N. Boozer. Seven children were born to this marriage, five of whom are still living.

Standing six feet in height, with a noble brow, massive physique, and a rich, ringing baritone voice, Dr. Gilbert is one of the finest representatives of the Bourke Cochran style of oratory, which blends scholarship with passion and learning with common sense, in the Negro pulpit. Only Dr. Gilbert is more sincere than Cochran.

In 1906 two men were elected president of Negro colleges and universities whose elections brought universal satisfaction. One was a white man who was the head of a Negro university, whose former president did not sympathize with the higher aspirations of the Negro. The other was a colored man to fill the president's chair of a Negro college that had never had a colored president before. I refer to Dr. W. P. Thirkfield, the magnetic orator, one of the apostles of the higher education of the Negro, the junior corresponding secretary of the Freedman's Aid and Southern Education Society, who, in 1906, was elected president of Howard University, and in 1912, was elected bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and to Professor John Hope, the colored educator who has had the honor of being the first colored man to be elected president of the Atlanta Baptist College, one of the strongest colleges in the South. Professor John Hope is a native of Augusta, Ga., and a graduate of Brown University, Providence, R. I. For four years he was professor of natural science in Roger Wil-

liams University, Nashville, Tenn. For eight years he has been professor of classics in the Atlanta Baptist College, and is beloved and respected by all of the members of the faculty and by the entire student body. He is still quite a young man, not yet out of his forties, I understand, and a brilliant career awaits him. I have met him twice and he impressed me as being a sober, sane and sensible idealist. He has pursued post-graduate studies in Chicago University, and is a splendid representative of the educated Negro.

At the recent Baptist convention in Darien, Ga., I met two of the most gifted colored Baptists in the country—Dr. S. N. Vass and Dr. E. R. Carter. Dr. S. N. Vass is secretary for the Southern States of the American Baptist Publication Society. Whether I discussed theology, medicine, or the race question with him, I found that he possessed a very bright and keen mind and was an original thinker. His article upon race leadership in a North Carolina paper a few years ago was one of the most searching criticisms of Booker T. Washington that have appeared. Dr. Vass is one of the bravest and most fearless men of the race. He is one of the intellectual giants of the race. When professor in Shaw University, he impressed his personality upon his students.

The late Attorney G. F. McGee of Minneapolis, Minn., the Rufus Choate of the Negro bar, had a lucrative law practice and a large number of white clients. Professor J. W. Cromwell is an editor, educator and historian of ability. He is now secretary of the "American Negro Academy." He blends common sense with ripe scholarship.

A few years ago the world was astonished to learn that Dr. J. W. E. Bowen of Gammon Theological Seminary had by his renown as a theologian, educator and preacher, so impressed the Methodist Episcopal Conference, which met in Los Angeles, Cal., that he received a flattering vote for bishop on several ballots, and he almost won the honor and distinction of being the first and only Negro bishop to preside over dioceses which contained white churches and to hold conferences with white ministers under his jurisdiction and authority. And while the Methodist Episcopal Conference decided that the times were not ripe for a colored bishop over white churches and ministers, the fact that Dr.

Bowen was for a long time seriously considered as a prospective bishop entitles him to be considered as one of the most famous Negro divines and theologians our race has yet produced.

Dr. M. C. B. Mason, a man who blends the gift of eloquence with rare executive ability, formerly drew a yearly salary of \$4,500 as a corresponding secretary of the Freedman's Aid and Southern Society of the great Methodist Episcopal Church. His oration upon the "Battle of Waterloo" is a masterpiece of vivid and graphic description, and is delivered with force and energy. His address upon "Africans in America and Beyond the Seas," at the Young People's Congress in Washington, D. C., stamps him as a wonderful orator.

Dr. H. H. Proctor of Atlanta, Ga., was elected assistant moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches held in Des Moines, Iowa, in October, 1904, and this was a tribute both to him and to the race.

Dr. William V. Sinclair's "Aftermath of Slavery" is as comprehensive a study of the reconstruction period as one will find in most of the histories of that period written by eminent white historians.

In Dr. Daniel H. Williams of Chicago we have a surgeon who has performed some very delicate operations. His operation in 1897 for a stab wound of the heart and pericardium brought him world-wide fame and was referred to in the *Medical Record*, and Da Costa's "Modern Surgery," an international text-book on surgery.

In Greenville Woods we have an inventor and electrician who has issued several patents, while in President W. S. Scarborough of Wilberforce University we have a Greek scholar whose Greek text-book "First Lessons in Greek," has been used as a reference work in some of our New England colleges. Hon. E. H. Morris of Chicago, counsel for a wealthy corporation and the representative of one of the richest districts in the Illinois legislature, is said to have a practice paying him \$25,000 a year. In fact, he has made more money out of his profession than any other lawyer of our race.

In Doctors F. Purvis, F. Shadd and John R. Francis of Washington, we had three successful physicians. Of these Dr. Purvis is a brilliant wit and raconteur, with a Carlylian gift of describ-

ing and caricaturing a man with a single phrase or epithet. Some of the puritanic fire and earnestness of his father still lives in him. Dr. Francis has a private sanatorium that is splendidly equipped.

I believe that I am entitled to include L. M. Hershaw in my list of the colored immortals. On account of his unerring eye in detecting the weak points in an antagonist's armor and his vulnerable places, on account of the dexterity of his thrusts and parries, on account of his loyalty to the ideals of Atlanta University, his alma mater, he is dreaded as a controversialist and respected as a consistent champion of the higher education of the Negro. Attorney J. N. Bundy of Washington, D. C., has a lucrative practice, is treasurer of the Howard University Law School, and was formerly one of the two colored members of the Washington Board of Education, Mrs. Francis being the other member.

Mr. James Fitzgerald of Durham, N. C., is a colored brick-maker who owns two brickyards, a drug store, and property valued at \$70,000 in various sections of the town. We have many other colored men who are richer than Mr. Fitzgerald. But the grit, courage, nerve and bulldog tenacity of purpose that he manifests stamp him as a great man. Once he was burned out, once an enemy destroyed his machinery; but his steadiness of purpose, his iron will, his cool judgment, his level-headedness, never deserted him.

Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University, the best mathematician the race has yet produced, the author of "A Reply to Dixon's Leopard Spots," and "Race Adjustment," and Hon. Archibald Grimke, author of "Lives of William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Sumner," are the ablest controversialists we have. Both are men whose grasp of sociological problems, analytical minds, epigrammatic style and Socratic irony can perplex and confuse any antagonist. And yet their most telling work has been done in newspapers. The brilliant comparison of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, the splendid analysis of the political philosophy of Douglass, Washington, DuBois and Trotter, which Kelly Miller gave in the *Boston Transcript*, September, 1903, I regard as equal to Macaulay's finest analytical work. Professor Miller is in great demand as a speaker and lecturer.

The Hon. Thomas E. Miller, former president of the State College of Orangeburg, S. C., is one of the most gifted and versatile men the Negro race has yet produced. As a farmer, a lawyer, an educator and a political orator he has won remarkable success. Dr. Miller actually turned out from his State College in Orangeburg, S. C., farmers and mechanics who command good wages and his daughters taught bookkeeping and the making of butter and cheese. In Dr. Nix he had an able vice president and in Professor Butler and Professor Wilkinson two gifted teachers. The latter is now the president of the school.

To hear a Negro preacher whose aerial imagination can soar in its ethereal flight to the mysterious realm where the soul communes with the Infinite, to hear a Negro preacher whose scintillating sentences sparkle like diamonds that glow in the lustre of their beauty, one must listen to Rev. J. T. Wright, a Presbyterian divine, who was the chaplain of the school, and who is one of the ablest homiletical critics that our race has yet produced.

As a lawyer, Dr. Miller very rarely lost a case, although pitted against some of the keenest intellects of South Carolina. I have read his speeches in Congress and his address before the disfranchising Constitutional Convention of 1896 in Columbia, S. C. I have never read a more splendid defense and vindication of the Negro. In its comprehensive grasp and survey of human history, in its rapier thrusts and chaste and dignified style, it almost ranks with the state papers and the orations of Daniel Webster. Those who heard him have said that he spoke over four hours, with a brief intermission for dinner. The galleries were crowded with men and women who represented the best blood of South Carolina. With his broad brow, waving hair, leonine face, massive physique, musical voice and graceful gestures, it seemed as if the genius and soul of Wendell Phillips were incarnated in that colored orator whose eloquence electrified an audience that hung upon his every word. I think we must regard him, Rev. Mr. Thurston, and Professor William Henry Harrison Hart of the Law Department of Howard University, who won his Jim Crow car fight in Maryland in January, 1905, when the Maryland Jim Crow law was declared unconstitutional for interstate passengers, who came to Washington from Ala-

bama a penniless, ragged, barefoot boy, started life as an office boy and bootblack to Senator Evarts, and finally became his private secretary, as three of the most ready and resourceful orators our race has yet produced.

I believe that Professor Hart is one of the most brilliant lawyers and with the possible exception of Professor J. E. Mason, Dr. I. N. Ross and Reverdy C. Ransom, the most gifted orator whose genius in recent years has uttered itself through a colored man's lips. Although Professor Hart is a lineal descendant of Thomas Hart, who came to Boston from Baddon, in Essex County, England, in the ship *Desire* in 1635, he is regarded as a colored man. His unique greatness as an orator resides in the fact that he is endowed with that rarest of all gifts, a poetic imagination. I well remember the only time I heard Professor Hart when his genius as an orator manifested itself at its best. In April, 1902, he spoke before the Men's Club of the United Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn. It was an honor for a colored man to address that club. The Sunday before the famous Episcopal divine, Dr. Rainsford of New York City, spoke there and the Sunday after an eminent professor in the Yale Law School was to speak there. So Hart was sandwiched in between two great men. And yet he charmed and captivated and took into camp an audience that represented the wealth and culture of New Haven, as he had fascinated an audience that represented the cream and culture of Boston in the spring of 1901. The repose and dignity of his bearing, the grace and ease of his gestures, the exquisite modulation of his voice, the rhythmic and sententious roll of his sentences, the splendor and the sweep of his imagination delighted every one who heard him.

Then, again, Professor Hart has done big things. He raised the money to erect the Howard University Law School buildings, secured the appropriation from Congress for the maintenance of the professorships. Through his farm school he taught the District of Columbia how to care for neglected waifs and wayward colored boys and smashed the Maryland Jim Crow law, so far as it affected interstate passengers.

Rev. Mr. Thurston, formerly manager of the silk mill in Fayetteville, is an impressive and convincing speaker. He is power-

fully built, with a keen gray eye, a pleasant smile, and an iron will; a man of medium height, with a voice that is at the same time stentorian in volume and musical in quality, and he has a calmness and dignity that nothing can ruffle or disturb. In June, 1905, he, with Professor Smith, pleaded in Raleigh for the Fayetteville State Normal School. He faced Governor Glenn and said, "Governor, give us a chance and we will make cotton do for North Carolina what gold has done for Colorado. We will make the old Piedmont section blossom with cotton as Colorado glistens with gold." And Thurston won his case.

We have other orators, like Douglass and J. C. Price, who were more majestic; others like Charles Satchell Morris and James Hayes, the Virginia agitator, who are more magnetic, but Doctor Miller and Professor Hart have no set and stereotyped speeches and orations as some orators have. They are endowed with fertile imagination and prolific minds, and their oratory, like that of Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher, is flexible and can adapt itself to different problems and different situations. The same may be said of Rev. Mr. Thurston.

The hue and cry that was made by the Southern press regarding Dr. Crum's appointment made him a man of more than national reputation, and the courage and discretion that he manifested during that trying period, when a principle was at stake, stamps him as one of the greatest Negroes who ever held a position under the Federal Government. Posterity may regard him as the representative Negro office-holder. Most of the colored office-holders regarded their positions as plums or comfortable berths. But in Dr. Crum we see a Negro physician who had accumulated quite a fortune as a physician before he was appointed as collector of customs. So he is one colored office-holder whose earnings as a physician were greater than his salary under the Federal Government. Hence, he stands in a class by himself. We must regard Dr. Crum as a great orator. Those who heard him deliver the emancipation address at Claflin University in 1906 regarded it as as brilliant an address as the one the famous J. C. Price delivered there several years ago. Like Sir William Conrad Reeves, he is not a brilliant rhetorician, nor prose poet, nor pyrotechnic painter of word pictures, but he is a great orator, because he is a big man speaking. He has some-

thing to say and backs that something with an impressive, dignified personality. Tall and well built, with a light reddish-brown complexion, a round face, determined jaw and chin, a firm mouth, shaded by a moustache, and a heavy, husky bass voice, his words carry weight and conviction.

He resigned his position as collector of the Port of Charleston, S. C., in the spring of 1909, and was later appointed United States Minister to Liberia to succeed Rev. Ernest Lyons. He contracted the African fever in Liberia, and was brought to his home in Charleston, S. C., in a serious condition. He died December, 1912, in his native city, universally beloved and lamented.

Another remarkable colored educator and preacher is Rev. Dr. William V. Tunnell, formerly pastor of the St. Augustine Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, N. Y., later president of King Hall, an Episcopal Theological Seminary in Washington, D. C., now head of the department of history in Howard University, Washington, D. C. Dr. Tunnell is a native of the Danish West Indies and has a great deal of the fighting blood of the old Danish race. He is an erudite scholar and an impressive preacher and orator. His intellectual head, his stern face, his heavy, bass voice, his erect, well-knit figure, and his commanding personality, indicate that he is a man of executive and administrative ability, a born ruler of men. His sturdy, rugged nature is tempered with mellowness and sweetness and geniality. He has not yet wrought out a great work as has Mr. Washington, but when you meet Dr. Tunnell you feel that he is every inch a man, and that he could master and handle almost every situation that confronted him. His grandeur and poise as a speaker can impress and awe any audience. He was appointed a member of the Board of Education of Washington, D. C.

In William Monroe Trotter and George Washington Forbes of Boston we must recognize two clever and fearless journalists who mercilessly dissected and laid bare as with a scalping knife the fallacious theories of the Tuskegee sage regarding the civil and political status of the Negro race, and made the Boston *Guardian* the most formidable and dreaded colored newspaper the world has yet seen.

If any one were to ask what is the most potent Negro newspaper published, the answer would unquestionably be the Boston







PROF. A. MOLYNEUX HEWLETT  
Harvard's Athletic Instructor in the early days



F.N. ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM H. LEWIS  
(Famous Harvard Center)

*Guardian*, whose editor is William Monroe Trotter. He was a remarkable student at Harvard, standing near the head of his class, taking a *magna cum laude*, and almost winning a *summa cum laude*. He was a very successful real estate mortgage broker. Now he is devoting his powerful intellect, his fertile brain, his splendid business ability and his Promethean energy to the cause of Negro manhood and Negro suffrage.

The world does not know that the man who launched the Boston *Guardian* upon its tempestuous career, who wrote at first most of the scintillating and slashing editorials, and who conceived the idea of most of those X-ray cartoons that mercilessly unmasked the bogus leaders of the Negro race, and that first brought the Boston *Guardian* into fame, was none other than George Washington Forbes of the West End Branch of the Boston Public Library, formerly editor of the Boston *Courant*, but now no longer engaged in newspaper work. For a combination of philosophic grasp of mind, statesmanlike comprehension of the Negro question, knowledge of the foibles and frailties of human nature, hard horse sense, sardonic wit, biting satire and playful humor, he is unsurpassed by any colored writer. Some of his editorial work when he was connected with the Boston *Guardian* was superb. The reader may ask, "Why has not Forbes the world-wide fame of DuBois?" Dr. DuBois has the prestige of a Harvard Ph.D. He has written several books, and there is poetic quality to his writings. Mr. Forbes is now writing a history of the Negro race that may give him the international renown of a Blyden or Dumas.

Of the Boston lawyers, Clement G. Morgan and Butler R. Wilson might possibly be able to make as good a speech on the spur of the moment as former Assistant Attorney-General William H. Lewis of Boston, the famous Harvard center and football coach. Johnson W. Ramsey has made more money out of his practice than any colored lawyer in the North, but give Lewis, with his magnificent brow, massive jaw, Niagara voice and athletic physique, time to prepare himself, and you have a second Daniel Webster, a man whose eloquence is irresistible. Like Webster, Lewis is the personification of dignity and is endowed with a thunderous voice. I saw and heard him sweep the members of the Twentieth Century Club of Boston off their feet in

his impassioned plea for the Negro in March, 1904. He was like a torrent gathering force and energy as he moved along, and, when he said, trembling with suppressed excitement, "For me, I would rather not be, than to be and not to be a man," an audience which represented the wealth and culture of Boston broke into spontaneous and prolonged applause. On Lincoln's birthday, February 12, 1913, he delivered the annual memorial address before the Massachusetts State Legislature. The galleries were crowded and Lewis held the audience spellbound.

As I have traveled through the country, I have met several colored men who have impressed me with their exceptional ability: the late Captain James Wilkins of New Haven, Conn., the military and political leader; James A. Peaker of New Haven, Conn., the founder of the State Summer League; Rev. A. P. Miller, who made the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church of New Haven, Conn., the first colored Congregational church to be self-supporting; and Willis Bonner and William Manning, political leaders of New Haven, Conn., impressed me with their ability to lead and marshal men. And of these, Captain James Wilkins, a brave soldier, by his brilliancy and energy amassed quite a fortune; James A. Peaker, who as a political leader equaled Cuneo of Texas and Lee of Florida, and as a versatile orator is the peer of any of the Negro race, made a profound impression upon the community.

In New York City, Dr. E. P. Roberts, the successful physician, and Benjamin E. Thomas, former proprietor of the Maceo, impressed me as resourceful and able business men. In Baltimore, Md., Dr. W. A. C. Hughes, former pastor of Sharp Street M. E. Church, Dr. Lincoln Gaines, Dr. J. J. Wortham and the late Dr. E. J. Gregg, pastor of St. John's A. M. E. Church, impressed me as brilliant preachers; and W. Ashbie Hawkins struck me as being a splendid specimen of colored lawyer and race leader. I have also met a few men like Dr. York Russell, the brilliant physician and orator of New York; Professor John Wesley Cronwell, Professor William H. Richards, Professor C. C. Cook and L. M. Hershaw of Washington, D. C., who impressed me by the versatility of their scholarship. Of these I will first speak of Professor Richards, who, as a scholar, I regard as the peer of DuBois and Scarborough. Professor Richards, of the law

department of Howard University, was born in Tennessee and reared by his grandmother. As a boy he was aristocratic and ambitious. When President Garfield heard him deliver his oration, when he graduated from Howard University Law School, he said, "That young man will make his mark." And young Richards did make his mark. He was appointed to a government clerkship in Washington, was elected mayor of Athens, Tenn., and about 1890, was appointed a professor in Howard University Law School, which institution he has helped to develop. He did much for Bethel Literary, has generously assisted many struggling students, and is one of the profoundest scholars of the race. He is another George William Curtis, for he has stood forth as the champion of high intellectual, aesthetical moral ideals.

The late Professor C. C. Cook of Howard University was one of the most subtle minds in our race. Although a teacher of English literature, he has mastered sociology and philosophy. He was one of the few colored men I have met who has grasped the significance of Taine's "History of English Literature" and Hegel's "Philosophy of History." He was the son of the late John F. Cook of Washington, D. C. He graduated from Cornell University and took a post-graduate course at Oxford. He was, withal, a sweet, modest and noble-minded gentleman.

Professor L. M. Hershaw, the editor and correspondent, is another colored scholar, who has mastered Spencer, Taine and Hegel.

Among the colored men in the postal service, Mr. Charles E. Chapman of Cambridge, Mass., who has been in the service since 1875, has won the confidence, esteem and respect of the business men with whom he has come in contact. His father and mother were born in Virginia, but Mr. Chapman was born in New York, where he remained until he was twenty-one. He then went to New Haven, Conn., in which place he stayed until 1872, when he went to Boston. In 1875 he was appointed clerk in the Boston post office, in which capacity he remained a little over ten years. He was transferred to the position of letter carrier at his own request. In 1885 he was appointed letter carrier on the Boylston Street route, embracing the wealthy business district. So intelligent and efficient has been his service

that he has remained on the same important route for twenty-five years, making thirty-eight years in which he has successfully and faithfully served Uncle Sam. Well may he and his race be proud of his record. In the winter of 1910 he was appointed as clerk.

Mr. Alonzo R. Jones of Jacksonville, Fla., is a native of North Carolina. He was born in Blackville, in 1853, of slave parents. He went to Florida, in 1867, with his parents, where he grew up into manhood. His school training was obtained in the common schools of Jacksonville, and as early as 1872 he became interested in politics, working hard for the party candidates. His first political position was when he received the appointment of election clerk. Several times he was election inspector. He was always known to be opposed to corrupt politics, and took an active part in all reform movements in the municipal government, which made him quite prominent among the best people of the city, and he gained the respect of the business men of the community.

At the reorganization of the city government he was elected police commissioner with two white men. The board organized by electing Mr. Jones chairman. He was also appointed a notary public at large for the State of Florida by Governor E. A. Perry in 1888. He was also prominent in fraternal organizations, in the Masons, Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias; but especially was he a leader in the church of his choice.

The ruling power became the turbulent element in 1892, when a disturbance occurred in July, wherein Jones was charged with inciting a riot, which charge was trumped up for the purpose of humiliating him and extorting over one thousand dollars from him. Owing to the persecution, he was compelled to leave his comfortable home in Jacksonville and take up an abode in New Haven, Conn., where he became prominent in church, society and politics.

The facts were as follows: A colored man killed a white man in an altercation in which the white man struck the first blow and raised the paling to strike the colored man; the colored man wrested the paling from him and struck and killed him with it. A mob gathered to lynch the colored man who had killed the white man in self-defence. Mr. Jones organized an

armed band of colored men, who guarded the jail for two days and nights, thus preventing the lynching. That was all the disturbance there was. This, with the exception of the prompt action of the men at Darien, Ga., is the only time that colored men have successfully prevented a lynching. This, alone, stamps Mr. Jones as a leader and organizer of men.

Boston is a city which makes or unmakes a man's reputation. Great men soon reach the common size of men before the critical eye of Boston. Frederick Douglass, R. Brown Elliot, J. C. Price and Professor William H. H. Hart, as orators, successfully ran the gauntlet of Boston criticism. Of the colored preachers who have gone to Boston, Dr. Hurley, Reverdy C. Ransom, Charles Satchell Morris and J. A. Brockett stood the test. Dr. Hurley is a thoughtful, earnest and impressive speaker; R. Reverdy Ransom is the Wendell Phillips of the race, and Charles Satchell Morris rivals Bourke Cochran as a builder of climaxes. But Dr. J. A. Brockett, who leaped into fame by brilliantly answering Henry Grady in Tremont Temple and in Music Hall, is the Roscoe Conkling of the Negro race.

Each of the last three was fortunate in being selected to deliver an address upon a historic occasion that lived in the memory of those who heard it. Reverdy C. Ransom's Garrison's Centennial address, delivered in Faneuil Hall in January, 1906, electrified an audience that crowded the historic temple to its doors. Charles Satchell Morris's welcome to the colored soldiers who returned from the Spanish-American War in the late fall of 1898 held a vast audience spellbound for nearly two hours. The climax of his oration came when he said amid deafening applause, "Critique Massachusetts as you may, there is a moral fibre that runs like a thread of gold throughout her history. She did go into hysterics, however, over the election of Isaac B. Allen to the Governor's Council." The last remark convulsed the audience with laughter.

Joshua A. Brockett, in Tremont Temple, in the fall of 1889 replied to Henry Grady, the silver-tongued orator of Atlanta, Ga., in a speech that for a few weeks made him the most talked of man in Boston. One of the addresses was delivered to an audience largely colored and the other to an audience largely white. Nearly four thousand packed Tremont Temple to hear him.

Brockett answered Grady point by point. Grady boasted that he had been suckled by a black mammy. Brockett replied that she did not know that she was taking a viper to her bosom. By a strange irony of fate, Brockett's addresses appeared in the newspapers the same day in which the death of Henry Grady was heralded over the country. And the colored people cried out, "Brockett's speech killed Grady."

He had but one rival in Boston—E. G. Walker, the black Democrat, the founder of the Colored National League, the friend of Ireland, a lawyer whom Hon. Patrick Collins and other eminent Bostonians eulogized at the memorial exercises in his honor, an orator whose oration upon Charles Sumner in Faneuil Hall equalled that of Hon. R. Brown Elliot, and a race leader who aided and encouraged young men and pushed them to the front.

Dr. Brockett is hypnotic in his effect upon an audience. With an athletic physique, a deliberate manner, a sonorous voice, a well-thought-out speech, biting wit and sarcasm, and sublime climaxes backed up by a masterful poise and a well-balanced and self-controlled personality, Dr. Brockett has brought the grandiloquent style of speaking to a high point of perfection.

He, preëminently, of the colored orators has the grandiloquent personality of Roscoe Conkling and the superb self-possession of a Pericles. There is a grandeur, a solemnity, a sublime dignity to the man that awes and impresses an audience.

Hart captivates you by the rhythm of his sentences and the modulation of his voice, Morris sways you by throwing you into sympathy with him, while Brockett dominates you by the force and magnetism of his transcendent personality.

I will bring this chapter to a close by saying a word about Rev. J. Milton Waldron, D.D., formerly the pastor of Bethel Baptist Institutional Church of Jacksonville, Fla. This church is built like a Turkish mosque and is the most beautiful and best equipped Negro church I have ever seen. Probably no Negro preacher in the country lives the life of intense activity that Dr. Waldron does and has his hands so completely upon the throttle valves of the community's life. Dr. Waldron was president of the Afro-American Industrial and Benefit Association, which was one of the best banking, insurance and benefit companies in our race, employing one hundred and ten men and women. He was also



the president of the stockholders of the Florida Standard and Publishing Company, of which Rev. J. A. Hopkins is the editor. The *Standard* is one of the strongest and most fearless of Negro newspapers and employs ten colored persons. Then, too, Dr. Waldron is an eloquent Gospel preacher, a minister of high ideals, rare purity of life, integrity of character and puritanic moral fibre. He is a man with plenty of gray matter in his brain, with plenty of iron in his blood and unusual strength in his vertebrate column. He is a plain, positive, practical character, with strong convictions, that he never fails to assert. He is a born fighter. Standing six feet in height, weighing over two hundred pounds, light complexioned, clean shaven, with a noble brow, strong, stern, rugged features, and kindly voice, possessing an unusual amount of energy, magnetism and earnestness, Dr. Waldron is a human dynamo and perhaps one of the strongest dynamic forces in the Negro pulpit to-day, if not the strongest. For when I look at him, it seems as if the spirit of an Oliver Cromwell was incarnated in this colored preacher. He is not a flowery, poetic speaker; he is not a humorist in the pulpit; but he is the embodiment of power, intellectual, moral and physical, and gives one the impression of titanic force of personality. But, best of all, Dr. Waldron has lived in Jacksonville fourteen years and demanded the same respect in Jacksonville that the late Mr. Crummell once commanded, and that Dr. Grimke now commands in Washington. In the National Capital, Dr. Waldron not only sustained his former reputation, but has forged to the front as a race leader. Lincoln University was his alma mater, and Newton Theological Seminary gave him his theological training; so New England Puritanism speaks in him. I believe that a man who can impress his individuality upon a community as Dr. Waldron has deserves to be regarded as a great man, and the colored people of the country ought to be proud of such a noble representative of the possibilities of the Negro pulpit. Few ministers blend education, ideals, horse sense and pluck as Dr. Waldron does. He is now the successful pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.

Now for a closing word as to Morris. I will quote the beginnings of a news item, which, under a heavy head line, appeared in the *Boston Post*, Thursday morning, June 21, 1906:

Standing, some on the chairs, throwing hats, handkerchiefs and purses into the air, and cheering at the tops of their voices, a crowd of colored people that filled Faneuil Hall to the very doors, went into a frenzy of excitement last evening while the Rev. Charles S. Morris, D.D., pastor of Abyssinia Baptist Church, New York City, denounced the Southern people in general for their treatment of the colored people, the Pullman Car Company for its treatment of Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, and Booker T. Washington for what the speaker called his absolute failure as the leader of the colored people.

Rev. Charles S. Morris is now pastor of a Baptist Church in Norfolk, Va.

FOOT NOTES.—Claflin University has been brought by Dr. F. M. Dunton, its white president, to a high point of efficiency. The same may be said of Benedict College, also under white management. Professor J. E. Wallace of Claflin has been elected president of Bennet College, Greensboro, N. C., and Treasurer Youngblood has been called to the professorship of a Western college.

Rev. Dr. Kimball Warren, the forceful pastor of the Mather Street Baptist Church of Hartford, speaks eloquently of the progress of the colored people of Michigan. He says that there are four very wealthy colored men in Cass County, Michigan. William Allen owns a farm of 900 acres of land and annually ships nine decks of sheep. (There are three decks of sheep to a cattle car.) Samuel Hawkes owns 600 acres of tilling ground and 300 acres of black walnut, sugar trees and white oak. James Archer owns two or three big threshing engines and separators and threshes all of the wheat in the county. He also owns a fine stock farm. Henry Brown owns 700 acres of land, rents part of it out and loans money.

Rev. Dr. Warren also says that the members of the Chain Lake Baptist Church are worth a million and that the total wealth of the members of the three churches aggregates two million. The school board and county trustees are also colored.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### *Some Prominent and Talented Colored People of To-day.*

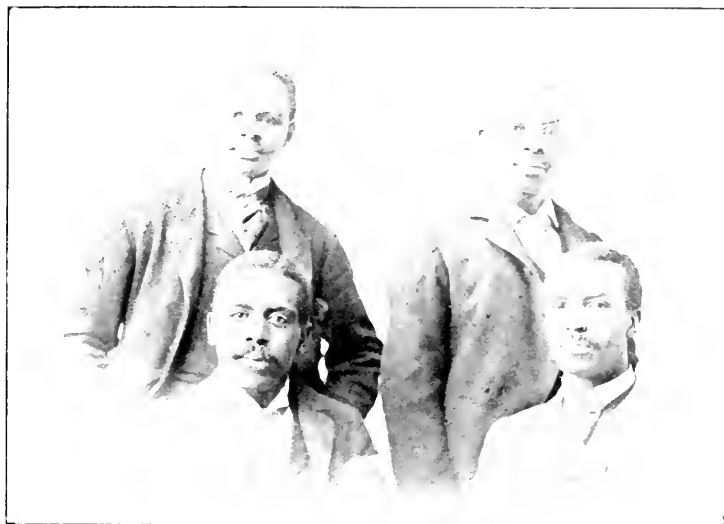
There are several men of exceptional ability worthy of mention here. These men are Edward H. Wilson, W. H. A. Moore of the *Chicago Tribune*, and L. M. Hershaw of Washington—three brilliant correspondents; Rev. Silas X. Floyd of Augusta, Ga., some of whose poems have appeared in the *Independent* and *Judge*, while some of them have been illustrated in *Judge*, and who is destined to become famous as a Negro dialect poet and writer of short stories; J. Max Barber, formerly the talented editor of the *Voice of the Negro*; W. Scott Montgomery, formerly superintendent of the colored schools, Washington, D. C.; Attorney J. N. Bundy of Washington, formerly colored member of the Board of Education and treasurer of Howard University Law School; Judge Robert H. Tyrrell of Washington, society leader, educator and lawyer; John R. Lynch, ex-congressman and paymaster of the United States Army; the late Hon. A. S. White of Louisville, Ky., an able lawyer and orator—a man of great brain power; the brilliant, resourceful and tactful R. R. Wright, president of the Georgia State Industrial College and former paymaster of the United States Army in the late Spanish-American war, who became famous by crying out when General Howard asked, "What shall I tell the people of the North?" "Tell them that we are rising," and who was a member of the National Republican Convention that nominated Garfield and Harrison and renominated Harrison; the genial, suave and diplomatic President James B. Dudley of the A. & M. College, Greensboro, N. C., whom Governor Glenn of North Carolina proclaimed a greater man than Booker T. Washington; Professor Roberts, vice president of Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.; Professor DeLaney, vice president of St. Augustine School, Raleigh, N. C.; Rev. Albert P. Miller of Jersey City, who built up the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church of New Haven, Conn.; J. P. Peaker of New Haven, who welded the colored voters of

Connecticut into the State Summer League, and Dr. Owen M. Walker of Brooklyn, N. Y., whose culture was ripened in Oxford University, who was for a few years the gifted, courteous and eloquent pastor of St. Mary's Church, Washington, D. C., and who if he had continued in the ministry would have become one of the most famous preachers of our race.

Bishop T. H. Halsey's books and essays show a grasp upon sociological problems, and Bishop B. S. L. Williams' sermon upon "The Philosophy of Truth" is a philosophical discourse that is delivered by a preacher of regal appearance and wonderful eloquence.

I will mention some of the colored men and women who have distinguished themselves in Northern and Eastern colleges and universities. Professor Edward A. Bouchet, Ph.D., was a Phi Beta Kappa man at Yale in the early seventies. In Clement G. Morgan and Roscoe Conkling Bruce, the Harvard class orators, and William Pickens, winner of the Ten Eyck Prize at Yale, we have instances of colored men winning the highest oratorical honors in Yale and Harvard universities. Mr. James Bertram Clark, a native of the West Indies, while a student at Cornell University, won a French prize in his Junior year.

In Stewart and Morton, the debaters at Harvard; in McGuinn and Crawford, winners of the Townsend prize speaking contests in the Yale Law School; in Richard T. Greener, winner of the Boyleston and Bowdoin prizes at Harvard; in Seme, the young Zulu who won an oratorical prize at Columbia; in Dr. Henderson, Rev. O. Faduma and Rev. T. Nelson Baker, winners of the scholarships in the Yale Divinity School; in Smithwick, winner of the \$100 prize for an essay on Roman law in the Yale Law School; in R. R. Wright, Jr., fellow in sociology in the University of Pennsylvania; in Robert Bonner, winner of a prize in drawing in the Yale Art School; in Dr. I. N. Porter, and William Fletcher Penn, successful graduates of the Yale Medical School; in Dr. Ferdinand A. Stewart and Dr. Henry S. Bailey of Harvard; in Prof. Benjamin Lightfoot of Howard University, a brilliant Latin scholar of Cornell or Amherst; in William Monroe Trotter, a *magna cum laude* man of Harvard; in Professor John W. Gilbert of Augusta, Ga., winner of a Greek fellowship in Brown University; in Trim-



THE COLORED YALE QUARTETTE OF 1892-93

Robert H. Bonner, Esq.,  
Beverly, Mass.

Prof. Charles H. Boyer,  
Raleigh, N. C.

Rev. Prof. Oreshatukeh Faduma,  
Boley, Okla.

Rev. H. C. Proctor, D.D.,  
Atlanta, Ga.



RESIDENCE OF PRES. WM. S. SCARBOROUGH OF WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY



bull, a Phi Beta Kappa man in Brown University; in E. H. Wilson, a Phi Beta Kappa man of Williams; in J. H. Bluford, a former holder of a graduate scholarship in the University of Pennsylvania; in Hon. John P. Green, who graduated at the head of his class in the Central High School of Cleveland; in John Wesley Cromwell, Jr., a Phi Beta Kappa man at Dartmouth; in Terrell, DuBois and Hill, commencement orators at Harvard University; in George H. Henderson, Proctor, Rev. T. Nelson Baker and Gregory, winners of oratorical honors in the Yale Divinity School; in Charles Hatfield Dickerson of Oberlin and Yale Divinity schools; and in James Augusta Wilson, winner of an oratorical prize in Wesleyan University, we see colored students who have demonstrated the ability of colored students to stand the rivalry of the keenest Caucasian students. In W. H. Lewis, the celebrated Harvard center and football coach; in Marshall, the brilliant Harvard football and baseball player; in Howard Lee, the football player; in Napoleon Bonaparte Marshall and Edward Hamilton, the Harvard runners; in Sherman Jackson, the Amherst half-back; in Caldwell, the Williams end; in Bullock, the Dartmouth football hero; in Taylor, the famous University of Pennsylvania runner; in Cable, Harvard's hammer thrower; in A. L. Jackson, the Harvard hurdler; in Speiden of Cornell, the two-mile runner, and in Howard M. Drew, the premier sprinter of the Springfield High School, an Olympic hero, we have colored students who have shown that the Negro is not lacking in presence of mind, nerve and dash upon the athletic field.

The late Mrs. Fannie Jackson Coppin and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, graduates of Oberlin College; Mrs. Maude Brooks Cotton, a graduate of Knoxville College; Mrs. Elbert of Wilmington, Del., an M.A. of Smith, and Miss Anita Hemings of Vassar (now Mrs. Love, I believe), are four colored ladies whose college careers attracted unusual attention. In Misses Alberta Scott, Gertrude Bakers, Genevieve Hall and Gladys Holmes, we see graduates of Radcliffe College, the Harvard Annex. Of these ladies Miss Hall, I understand, graduated with high honors. Miss Effie Grant won a \$150 prize for singing in the Yale School of Music. Miss Helen Hagan of New Haven, Conn., graduated in 1912 from the Yale School of Music. For three successive years

she won scholarships from that school. At her graduation she was awarded the Samuel Simons Sanford Fellowship, which provided for two years' study abroad. The fellowship was given for the best original composition. Miss Hagan played her concerto in C minor for piano and orchestra in a concert at Woolsey Hall, in May, 1912, accompanied by the New Haven Symphony Orchestra. Miss Hagan has also composed songs, pianoforte pieces, violin and piano sonatas and string quartettes. But I suppose that Locke of Harvard, winning one of the Cecil Rhodes Scholarships, is the most conspicuous recent example of the Negro's triumph in the university world.

In Henry A. Rucker, former collector of internal revenue in Georgia; in Judge Gibbs, Dr. J. W. Thompson, Professor Powell and Dr. Frederick Furniss, Frederick Douglass, E. D. Bassett and J. M. Langston, United States ministers to Hayti; in Dr. Jackson, consul to La Rochelle, France; in Dr. VanHorne, Professor R. T. Greener, Colonel James Lewis, New Orleans; the late Colonel J. H. Deveaux, collector of the Port of Savannah; and John C. Dancy, former recorder of deeds in Washington, D. C.; in Cyrus Field Adams, former deputy in Register Lyon's office, Washington, D. C.; and in John Taylor, former deputy collector, Wilmington, N. C., we see colored men who have faithfully performed the services required of them. In ex-Governor P. B. S. Pinchback we see an old reconstruction "war horse" whose brilliancy, dash and personal magnetism made him a national figure during the trying reconstruction days. Professor Cordoza, secretary of state in South Carolina, was another prominent reconstruction figure. In Congressman John R. Lynch, George H. White and George Murray we had three able representatives in Congress, though I believe that Elliot, Bruce and Langston were more in the public eye. In Professor E. S. Smith and the late John H. Smythe of Virginia we have two ex-ministers to Liberia who have done good work as educators.

In T. McCants Stewart of New York City, S. Laing Williams of Chicago, Ill., lawyers Mitchell and Heathman, of Providence, R. I., J. Madison Vance of New Orleans, R. I. D. Macon, Webster, and James L. Curtis of New York City, Butler R. Wilson, E. E. Brown and Edgar Benjamin of Boston, W. Cal-



vin Chase, the late Reuben Smith, Mr. T. H. Jones, and Messrs. Stewart and Walker, the two receivers of the Capitol Savings Bank, of Washington, D. C., Simmons and Chapelle of New York City, lawyer Onley of Peacedale, R. I., we see a few of the colored men who have broken the ice for colored lawyers. Mr. Ormond Scott and Mr. Pattison are two brilliant young lawyers of Washington; the late Mr. McGee of Detroit, Mich., had a great many white clients. John Milton Turner and C. H. J. Taylor were former United States ministers to Liberia, who are eloquent speakers.

In Rev. Charles E. Jacobs, D.D., of Sumter, S. C., field worker for the Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union and contestant for a seat in Congress; in the brilliant and magnetic Rev. E. V. Burroughs of Charleston, S. C.; in Dr. John E. Frank of Louisville, Ky., the masterful moderator; in Dr. P. P. Watson, formerly of Beaufort, S. C., who presided over a church, conducted a Sunday School, managed a farm and superintended a library; in the late Dr. J. W. Carr of Savannah, Ga., formerly the pastor of the largest Negro church in the world, with nearly 5,000 enrolled members, we have typical representatives of the new type of Negro preachers.

Rev. L. G. Jordan, secretary of the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, Louisville, Ky.; Dr. Matthew Anderson and Dr. Wm. H. Credit, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. W. Howard of Washington, D. C., and Rev. E. Robert Bennett, formerly of Wilmington, N. C., have won enviable reputations as organizers and church workers. Bishop Scott of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. John Adams of Columbia, S. C.; the late Dr. William I. Dixon of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. C. K. Brown of Aiken, S. C., Rev. Dr. W. T. Bowen of Bamberg, S. C.; Rev. Dr. S. L. Corrothers, Rev. J. D. Corrothers, Rev. Sterling N. Brown, Rev. A. C. Garner and Dr. Rivers, pastor of Berean Baptist Church, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Byron Gunner, formerly of Newport, R. I.; Rev. Hannah, Sumter, S. C.; Rev. Middleton, Hickson, Witherspoon, Johnson and Snick of South Carolina; Rev. Gedda, Rev. Dr. H. C. Bishop of New York; Rev. H. P. Nelson, Rev. Dr. Townsend and Presiding Elder Cooper of Orangeburg, S. C.; Rev. Dr. Mouzon, Rev. Laurie, Dr. W. W. Beckett, Rev. Jackson, the late Rev. O. D. Robinson of

Charleston, S. C.; Rev. J. H. Holley and Rev. W. G. Johnson, D.D., of Macon, Ga.; Rev. Dr. J. W. Porter of Memphis, Tenn.; Rev. P. J. Bryant and Rev. Dr. Rush of Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. Dr. W. M. Gray, Rev. H. O. May, Rev. Daniel Reid, Rev. Haywood, Rev. Blair, the late Rev. Griffin, Rev. S. A. Lindsley, Rev. R. V. Branch, Rev. N. T. Whiting, Rev. E. Lowery of Savannah, Ga.; the late Archdeacon Pollard of North Carolina, Rev. Dr. King of Raleigh, Rev. J. A. Bonner, Rev. G. W. Walton, Rev. S. S. Henderson and Rev. John E. Jackson of Wilmington, N. C.; Rev. W. R. Coles and Rev. G. W. Raiford of Aiken, S. C.; Rev. G. Coit of Georgetown, S. C.; Presiding Elder H. W. Bennett, formerly of the famous Emanuel A. M. E. Church of Charleston, S. C.; Rev. B. S. A. Williams of Summerville, S. C.; the late Butler Tompkins, a Presbyterian divine of New York City; Rev. N. T. Haywood, Rev. D. J. Flynn, of Charlotte, N. C.; and Rev. McCoy of Augusta, Ga.; Rev. King of Candor, Dr. Whitted of Raleigh, N. C., and the late Rev. Boyd of Nashville, Tenn., are worthy of mention.

Rev. and Professor H. Macon Joseph of New York City, Rev. Wilson of Raleigh and Presiding Elders Bruce Williams, N. B. Sterrett, Dr. Nichols, Dr. Jefferson and Dr. Chavis, of the A. M. E. Church in South Carolina; Rev. F. P. Bishop, Cythian, Ky.; Rev. J. T. Morrow, formerly of Louisville, Ky., are among our noted preachers. Of these Rev. J. Albert Johnson, Rev. A. P. Miller, Dr. Bruce Williams, Archdeacon Pollard, Dr. J. W. Porter, and Dr. I. N. Ross are men of almost national reputation. Rev. Clemons, editor of the *Star of Zion*, the late Rev. E. J. Gregg, formerly secretary of Allen League, and former Secretary W. H. Coffin of Church Extension, are known throughout the country. Rev. F. P. Crum of Beaufort, S. C.; Rev. Lowery of Savannah, Ga.; Rev. J. Francis Robinson, formerly of Indianapolis, Ind., and Presiding Elders Capot, Telfair and Nichols of Wilmington, N. C., are clergymen whose importance should not be overlooked.

Then we have had many noted educators. President Nathaniel Young of State College, Tallahassee, Fla.; Professor William Lewis Bulkley, principal of a mixed school in New York City; President W. H. Goler, Professor K. Weggio Aggrey, Professor Crittenden, Professor Hanna and Professor Connor of Living-

ston College; the late President Sanders, Professor Davis and Professor Russell of Biddle University; Dr. Jones, formerly president of Wilberforce University; President Allen of Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City; Professor George A. Towne of Atlanta University, Professor G. W. Hayes, A.M., Richmond, Va.; Professor J. E. Wallace, Professor Cook and Professor Youngblood of Claflin University; Professor H. H. Thomas and Professor J. G. Reese of Benedict College; Professor D. C. Suggs, Professor Henry Pearson, Professor Cooper, Professor M. N. Work, Professor G. B. Thompson and Professor J. G. Lemon of Georgia State Industrial College; President James Dudley and Professor J. H. Bluford of the A. & M. College, Greensboro, N. C.; Professor Roberts and Professor Pegues of Shaw University; the late Professor John Holt of Wilmington, N. C.; Professor Gregory of Bordenton, N. J.; W. Scott Montgomery, Professor Cordozo and the late Superintendent George Cook of Washington, D. C.; Professor Morris of Allen University, Columbia, S. C.; Professor George H. Henderson, Fiske University, Professor Nix Butler and President Wilkinson of A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.; Professor John Wesley Hoffman, Marshall, Texas; Professor T. B. Williams, Hampton, Va.; Principal Hugh M. Brown, Cheney, Pa.; P. J. Dawkins, formerly principal of St. Helena, S. C.; Professor Pegues of Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.; Professor Howard, Georgetown, S. C.; Principal Griffin, Professor Cartwright and Professor Green, High Point, N. C.; Professor S. G. Atkins and Professor O'Kalley, Winston, Salem, N. C.; Principal Moore, Elizabeth City, N. C.; Principal Savage, Franklinton, N. C.; Principal J. A. Cotton, Henderson, N. C.; Professor Garrett, Asheville, N. C.; Professor Williams, Raleigh, N. C.; former President J. G. Wheeler and former Professor George Adams, Kitterell College; Professor Channing H. Tobias, Paine Theological College, Augusta, Ga.; Professor Johnson and Rev. Adams, Augusta, Ga.; former Principal Waring of Baltimore High School, Md.; Professor Perry and Professor Ennis of Louisville, Ky.; Professor Charles Boyer of Raleigh, N. C., former Principal Bruce Evans, Washington, D. C.; Professor U. S. G. Bassett, former Professor Love, Professor Cyrus Shippen, the late Parker Bailey, of Washington, D. C.; Professor W. R. Coles,

Aiker, S. C.; Professor W. H. Mitchell and Professor Yancey, Allendale, S. C.; Professor Colbert, Beaufort, S. C.; Professor Freysen, Sumter, S. C.; Professor Storum of Washington, D. C.; Professor Shaw of Oxford, N. C.; Professor George Benson, Kowaliga Institute, and the late Miss Jennie Dean, Manassas, Va., are among our prominent educators.

President William H. Goler's baccalaureate sermon at Shaw University in May, 1905, attracted considerable attention. President D. J. Sander's address in England was a model for polish, finish of diction, wit and humor. President James B. Dudley, a suave and courteous gentleman, was complimented by Governor Glenn and declared to be a "bigger" man than Booker T. Washington. Professor Bluford is preparing a book upon Agricultural Chemistry. Professor Freyson is a finished scholar. Professor K. Weggio Aggrey is a poetic writer. Professor Charles Boyer and Rev. DeLaney of the St. Augustine School, Raleigh, are trying to make it a second Rugby and Eton. Rev. Dr. Matthew Anderson of the Presbyterian Institutional Church of Philadelphia, Pa., is doing a noble work. His church owns four flats in its own right. His building and loan association has bought over 150 homes, aggregating \$200,000 in value, for colored persons of moderate means.

Mr. Welcome T. Blue is President of the Mohawk Realty Company, of Cleveland, Ohio, which owns \$50,000 worth of property. Mr. Walter B. Wright is secretary to the president of the Nickel Plate Railroad of Cleveland, Ohio.

Of our business men, Professor J. J. Clemons of Wilmington, N. C., and Wendell Wright of Salem, Mass., are the best traveling salesmen of the race; Mr. John Taylor, the late Dr. Tom Mask, Mr. George Letlow, Mr. Julius Murray and Mr. Hawkins of Wilmington, N. C.; Caterer Allen of Newport, R. I.; Caterer James Stewart of New Haven, Conn.; the late Deacon Green of Wilmington, N. C.; the late Mr. Seals of Cincinnati, Ohio; Whitfield McKinley of Washington, D. C.; the late Caterer Joseph Lee, Jack Crawford, Lyde Benjamine, J. H. Lewis and George Freeman of Boston, Mass.; Mr. Birney, cotton grader of Augusta, Ga., formerly of Charleston, S. C.; the late Robert Church of Memphis, Lawyers J. C. Napier of Nashville, Tenn., G. H. Jackson, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. W. L.

Taylor, Grand Worthy Master of the True Reformers, Richmond, Va.; Messrs. Lawrence and Bennett of Charleston, S. C.; George W. Allen, for many years president St. Mark's Lyceum, N. Y., are all prominent. Mr. Wyatt of Wilmington, N. C., did splendid work there in building up the True Reformers. Of these the late Mr. Joseph Lee of Boston invented a bread-making and bread-kneading machine.

Of our physicians, Dr. McClellan of McClellan's Hospital, Charleston, S. C.; Dr. Birney, Sumter, S. C.; Dr. Lindon, Charleston, S. C.; Dr. Wilder and Dr. Philip Broome Brooks of Washington, D. C.; the late Dr. Ray and the late Dr. White of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Drs. Walton and Golden of Georgetown, S. C.; Dr. F. S. Belcher, Dr. King, Dr. P. E. Love, and Dr. Williams of Savannah, Ga.; Dr. D. W. Chestnutt, the late Dr. Tom Mask and Dr. Allston, Wilmington, N. C., Dr. Jones of Richmond, Va., and Dr. William T. Carr, Jr., of Baltimore, Md., deserve special notice.

Of our dentists, Dr. W. Onley of New York City; R. J. Macbeth of Charleston, S. C.; the late D. P. Reid of New York City; Dr. Richard S. Fleming of New Haven, Conn., Dr. Russell, of Boston, and Dr. Hamilton of Danville, Ky., are very prominent.

Mr. Hicks of Wilmington, N. C., is an artistic carver. Mr. Hazel of Cambridge, Mass., and Professor J. Langford of Wilberforce University are architects. Louis Belden of Wilmington, N. C., is a lightning typewriter operator. Edward Manning of New Haven, Conn., is an artistic sign painter. The late Perry Carson was once the political "boss" of Washington. Principal T. S. Inborden, Joseph K. Brick School, Enfield, N. C.; Rev. J. W. Holley, Albany Industrial Institute, Albany, Ga.; and the late Miss E. T. Wright, Denmark, S. C., did fine work. Lawyers Telfair of Wilmington, N. C.; H. A. Macbeth of Savannah, Ga.; Adams of Columbia, S. C.; Edgar Benjamin and Butler R. Wilson of Boston, Mass., are very capable and resourceful.

E. T. Morris of Cambridge, Mass., who owns a magnificent library; W. D. Johnson, I. D. Barnett and the late Captain Charles Mitchell of Boston, Mass.; Shelby Davidson, Berkley Waller and Messrs. William Wilkinson, H. McLynn Yarborough and Mr. Lassiter and Mr. J. Thomas Heard of Washington are influential private citizens. Editor Jones of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*; President H. T. Kealing, former editor of

the A. M. E. Church *Review*; Roscoe Conkling Simmons of the *Colored American Magazine*; McGirt of *McGirt's Magazine*; Charles Alexander, formerly of *Alexander's Magazine*; Bishop H. P. Parks, formerly editor of the *Voice of Missions*, and Messrs. Heard and Allen are able magazine editors. Of these gentlemen President Kealing is a refined and polished orator, gifted with an analytical mind and an inimitable way of telling a story. He is now the president of Quindara University of Kansas. Editor W. Calvin Chase of the *Washington Bee*, W. H. Stewart of the *American Baptist*, Louisville, Ky.; the late W. G. White of the *Georgia Baptist*; J. H. Henderson, formerly of the *New England Torchlight*; Editor Johnson of the *Kentucky Standard*, Louisville, Ky.; John Mitchell of the *Richmond Planet*; the late Beriah Wilkins of the *Chicago Conservator*; W. Ashbie Hawkins, formerly editor of the *Baltimore Lancet*; Perry of the *Philadelphia Tribune*; J. G. Dart of the *Southern Reporter*; Harry Smith of the *Cleveland Gazette*; George Murray, formerly editor of the *Home News* of Alexandria, Va.; Rev. J. H. Clement of the *Star of Zion*; the editors of the *Advocate*, Portland, Oregon; and the *Chicago Broad Arc*; George Knox of the *Indianapolis Freeman*; Macon B. Allen of the *Beaufort County News*, South Carolina; Richard Carroll of the *Southern Ploughman*; Professor Garrett and Mr. Williams of the *Columbia Sun*, editor Johnson of the *Savannah Tribune*, editors E. W. Houston, E. W. Sherman, and J. C. Hamilton of the *Pythian Advocate*, Savannah; W. O. P. Sherman of the *Savannah Independent*, Ben Davis of the *Atlanta Independent* and the late Dr. H. T. Johnson, editor of the *Christian Recorder*, Philadelphia, Pa., are among the foremost editors.

The late Robert Teamah of the *Boston Globe*; Charles Stewart, the Associated Press correspondent; J. E. Bruce (Bruce Grit); the late Dr. Clayton of Washington, W. T. Menard of the *New York Age*, H. P. Slaughter of Washington, R. W. Thompson of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, W. Houston and Robert Pelham of Washington, Fitzgerald Jones of New Haven, E. W. Houston of Savannah, Ga.; J. M. A. Myers and Professor Garrett of Columbia, L. M. Hershaw of Washington, J. Allison Sweeney, whose brilliant editorials made the Indian-

apolis *Freeman* famous, and Mr. Wilson, whose article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1906, on "The Joys of Being a Negro," teemed with wit and humor, form a brilliant group of correspondents.

Former Chaplain Theophilus Stewart of the United States Army is a noted historian and a forceful writer. J. N. Samuels Belboder, Mrs. Fordham, D. Webster Davis, McGirt and Dinkins have written good poetry. Joseph Douglass and Clarence White as violinists, Loudin, Harry Burleigh and Thomas Blount as singers and Professor Craig as a conductor of orchestras, have attracted attention. Messrs J. Johnson, R. Johnson, the "Bob Cole," Gussie Davis and Will Cook have turned out catchy ragtime two-steps and sentimental songs. Rosamond Johnson and Bob Cole are refined comedians who have performed in some of the largest theatres in the country. Mr. A. Hillyer of Washington, D. C., has been a promoter of high-class music. So has Dr. Connor.

There are a few colored men residing in Washington who represent a type of scholarship that is fast becoming more common in our race. Not specialists along any single line, they are nevertheless men of wide reading and broad culture. I refer to W. Scott Montgomery, former assistant superintendent of schools; L. M. Hershaw, Dr. George H. Richardson, George W. Jackson, three moving forces in the famous Bethel Literary; Dr. H. L. Bailey, former supervising principal of public schools; Professor George W. Cook, Mr. Daniel Murray, assistant librarian of Congress; Mr. A. Hillyer, Professor Jesse Lawson and the late Mr. Meriweather; and I suppose former President W. R. A. Palmer of the Birmingham College, Birmingham, Ala., and Professor Benjamin Lightfoot of Howard University are two of the finest and best representatives of the cultured Negro. In scholarship they remind me of the late Alexander Crummell, who was in his day the ripest scholar of the race; and I do not believe that we have to-day any who surpass the standard that he reached in wealth of information and fluency and ease in applying and using that information.

We have produced many born orators, men endowed with the natural gifts of the orator, possessing the imposing physique, the dignified bearing, the rich, round, full musical voice and

charm of personality which enable a speaker to command the attention and the respect of an audience before finishing the first sentence. Such men are Bishop R. S. Williams of the A. M. E. Church, Rev. Richard Carroll of Columbia, S. C.; Rev. Dr. D. W. Bythewood of Beaufort, S. C., and Rev. I. H. Fulton of Orangeburg, S. C. Many lament the passing away of that gracious and pleasing speaker, J. C. Price; but in Rev. I. H. Fulton of Orangeburg, S. C., we have an orator whose personal magnetism, self-possession, magnificent stage presence, ease in speaking and inimitable wit and humor recall the matchless Price.

Then we have four remarkable preachers. I refer to former President William J. Laws of Paul Quinn College, Waco, Texas, a tall, slender, graceful and chivalrous orator who can thrill and electrify any audience; the late Dr. George W. Lee of Washington, D. C., a mob orator of the first magnitude, a born philosopher and poet, a diamond in the rough; Dr. Charles T. Walker of Augusta, Ga., founder of the Y. M. C. A. of New York and Augusta, President of Walker's Baptist Institute of Augusta, and justly called "The Black Spurgeon" and the "Uncrowned King of Augusta," and the scholarly and eloquent Rev. Dr. Walter H. Brooks of Washington, D. C.

We also have many noble women. In Dr. Lucy Moten, Mrs. Tucker, Mrs. Daniel Murray, late Miss Mattie Bowen, and Miss Marietta Gibbs of Washington, D. C.; Miss Lucy E. Laney of Augusta, Ga.; Miss Kreuse of Wilmington, Del.; Miss L. Parm of Baltimore, Md.; Miss Lucy DuValle of Louisville, Ky.; Miss Lizzie Frazer of New York City, Miss Lyons of Brooklyn, Mrs. Siloam Yates of Lincoln Institute, and Miss Lillian Mack of Orangeburg, we have talented educators.

In Miss E. Elizabeth Carter, the noted lecturer of New Orleans, La., general representative of the A. M. E. Church *Review*, Philadelphia, Pa.; in Mrs. John F. Cook, Mrs. Harriet, Mrs. Dr. Hall of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. B. R. Wilson, Mrs. C. G. Morgan, Mrs. Hannah Smith, Miss Eva Lewis, Miss Medorah Gould, Miss Hattie Smith, Mrs. Eliza Gardner, Mrs. Virginia Trotter of Boston, Mrs. Emory T. Morris of Cambridge, Mass., Mrs. John Ross, Mrs. Frank Swan, Mrs. Edward Manning, Mrs. D. P. Brown, Mrs. Charles Johnson, Mrs. E. F. Goin, Mrs. D. S. Klugh and Mrs. R. S. Fleming of New Haven,



Conn., Miss Dunbar and Miss Jackson of Providence, R. I.; Mrs. John Dickerson of Newport, R. I.; and Miss Elizabeth Carter of New Bedford, we have public-spirited women. In Miss Ednorah Narr, Mrs. Elijah Butler, Mrs. Frank Swan, Miss Adelina Saunders of New Haven, Mrs. Berty Toney Davis Craig of New York City, Mrs. Henrietta Vinton Davis and Miss Hallie Q. Brown, we have elocutionists of a high order. The late Miss Lottie Bassett of Philadelphia, Misses Grace and the late Eleanor Booth of Indianapolis, Ind.; Miss N. Chestnutt and Miss A. Jackson of Wilmington, N. C.; Miss Dover and Miss Baldwin of Wilmington, Del.; Miss Hattie Smith and Miss Nellie Smith of Boston, and Miss Muse of New Haven, Conn., are to be included among our capable and efficient educators. The late Mrs. Alice Strange Davis of Washington, D. C., was a musical virtuoso. I suppose that Mesdames Nellie Brown Mitchell, Selika, Madame Azalia Hackley, Sissereta Jones and the late Flora Batson Bergin are our most artistic singers. Three colored women have creditable articles and stories in both white and colored papers. These are Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams of Chicago, Miss Pauline Hopkins of Boston and Mrs. Alice Ruth Moore Dunbar of Wilmington, Del.

#### OTHER TALENTED COLORED MEN.

I regret that the date of my book going to press prevents my doing full justice to many eminent clergymen, educators and business men who are doing splendid work. I refer to Rev. Dr. Shaw, Rev. Dr. Cassius Ward, Rev. William H. Thomas, Rev. B. M. Swain, Rev. Dr. Comfort, and the late Rev. Dr. B. F. Farris of Boston; Rev. Dr. Harold, Rev. Dr. Duckery, formerly of Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. Dr. J. H. Wiley of Providence, R. I.; Rev. Dr. Smith of Providence, R. I.; Dr. Booker and Rev. Dr. Eppes of New York City; Rev. W. W. Henderson of Newport, R. I.; the Rev. Dr. Smith of Jersey City, N. J.; Rev. T. J. King of Yonkers, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. Slater, Rev. F. C. VanBuren and Rev. J. D. Boddie of New Rochelle, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. Ananias Brown, Rev. Dr. J. H. Jones of Baltimore, Md.; Rev. King of Candor, N. C.; Rev. Dr. Cannon of Savannah, Ga.; Rev. Asbury of Timonsville, S. C.; Rev. Dr. Daniels and Rev. Dr. Reeves of Columbia, S. C.; Professor Mason Hawkins, former treasurer of the Niagara

Movement, and principal of the Baltimore High School; the late H. E. Warton, Professor D. O. W. Holmes, Professor Joseph H. Lockerman, Dr. W. W. Wright, Dr. W. D. McCard, Dr. Pope, Professor Daniel Creditt, Professor J. N. Waring, Dr. Howard Young, Lawyer G. W. F. McMechens, Lawyer H. M. McCard, Mr. Samuel Young of Baltimore, Md.; Dr. B. T. Robinson, Dr. T. E. A. McCurdy and Dr. Hubert Ross of Boston, Mass.

There are some preachers like Rev. Dr. M. C. Haynes, formerly of New Rochelle, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. Mouzon of Charleston, S. C.; Rev. Dr. Willbanks of Washington, D. C.; and the Rev. Dr. S. F. Corrothers of Washington, D. C., who are forceful race leaders as well as brilliant preachers and successful pastors. Then there is Rev. Dr. J. H. Holmes of Baltimore, Md., with a Bismarckian head and jaw and a Bismarckian force of character; Rev. Dr. W. H. Brooks, pastor of the St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City, and the Rev. Dr. W. D. Wynn of Newark, N. J., polished and refined in manner, who are revered by their congregations as a Catholic priest is revered by devout worshippers. Rev. Dr. F. M. Jacobs of Brooklyn, N. Y., a successful physician and masterful political speaker; Rev. Dr. H. J. Callis, formerly of Boston, now of Indianapolis, Ind., who was honored by being one of the two colored guests at the Mayor's reception in Old Home Week in Boston in the summer of 1907; Rev. Dr. William H. Creditt of Philadelphia, Pa., the most impassioned preacher in the Baptist denomination, and the founder of the Downing Industrial School of Downing, Pa.; Rev. Dr. Matthew Anderson of Philadelphia, Pa., the founder of the Berean Training School, and the Rev. Dr. J. H. Smyer, formerly of Yonkers, N. Y., the brilliant and versatile founder of the Coöperative Company, which is building flats and building stores in Yonkers and Tarrytown, N. Y., are ministers who have broadened the scope of church work.

There are five clergymen who have done splendid literary work. I refer to the lion-hearted Dr. Harvey Johnson of Baltimore, Md., a devout Churchman, a beloved pastor, a Biblical scholar, a believer in the possibilities of his race, who has written books and pamphlets criticising the United States Supreme Court and American caste prejudice, which have been favorably commended and quoted from on the editorial pages of

the New York *Sun* and Baltimore *Sun*; Rev. Dr. William H. Coston, formerly of Anacostia, D. C., one of the founders of the Y. M. C. A. of New Haven, Conn., a chaplain in the Spanish-American war, author of "A Free Man and Yet a Slave," and "The Spanish-American War Veterans"; Rev. James Carlisle, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Troy, N. C., a moral philosopher, who has written a series of ethical sermons for the white press of Troy; Rev. W. R. Lawton, a Presbyterian pastor in New York City, a correspondent for the Brooklyn papers, and city clerk in Borough Hall, who has a comfortable berth in the city government, and Dr. D. P. Seaton of Baltimore, Md., who has visited the Holy Land and written a scholarly work on Palestine.

Of our physicians, Dr. Samuel J. Courtney of Boston, Mass., and Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland have a large white practice; Dr. Wheatland has two splendid X-ray machines and has successfully treated Newport and New York millionaires. Dr. Courtney has been elected a member of the Boston Board of Education.

W. Calvin Chase of the Washington *Bee*, with the possible exception of Editor Trotter of Boston, has been the most forceful and aggressive journalist that our race has yet possessed. He has been a potent force in school affairs and in local politics.

Of our business men, Mr. James T. Hitchens, of Baltimore, Md., who built up a fortune in the transfer and storage business; Mr. John Henry Smith, Dr. R. H. Hall, and Caterer William H. Jolley of Baltimore, Md.; and Rev. Thomas I. Moultrie of Yonkers, N. Y., who was born at Charleston, S. C., on August 22, 1842, educated privately and came to Yonkers in 1870 and so succeeded in the catering business that he became a serious competitor of the famous Maresi of New York, have especial reason to be proud of their careers.

Of our lawyers, Harry Smith Cummings of Baltimore, Md., leaped into national prominence by being selected to second the nomination of President Roosevelt at the Republican National Convention in 1906. He was born in Baltimore, Md., on May 19, 1866. Through his own efforts and the sacrifices of his mother, he secured an education, graduating from Lincoln University and the law department of the University of Maryland. In 1890, when only twenty-four years of age, he was selected to

the City Council, and in 1891 caused a manual training school to be established for the colored youth in Baltimore. He and his brother, Rev. Gilmore Cummings of the Albany Methodist Episcopal Church, have both been distinguished for their good sense and tactfulness.

Mr. Minor F. Hamlin of Cambridge, Mass., has won the confidence of the mayor and the best citizens and went as an alternate delegate to the last Republican convention.

The late J. Q. A. Shaw of Cambridge, Mass., the original founder of the *New York Globe*, a veteran editor and political leader, who has written several brilliant articles to the *Transcript*, was a master of epigrams, wit and sarcasm, almost divided the honors with Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University, Washington, D. C., author of "Race Adjustment," as an essayist of force and power. Professor Miller is the Montaigne of the Negro race, while Shaw had universality of culture and has uttered generalizations of which Emerson might be proud.

Dr. H. J. Brown of Baltimore, Md., is a phrenologist, psychologist and philosopher, who has mastered Herbert Spencer, Darwin and Schopenhauer.

#### A FEW RICH AMERICAN NEGROES.

Willis H. Ellis, Stock Exchange, New York, N. Y.

Samuel Harris, Williamsburg, Va.

Calvin Johnson, Knoxville, Tenn.

Wiley Jones, Pine Bluff, Ark.

W. I. Atwood, East Saginaw, Mich.

John Fitzgerald, proprietor of brickyard, Durham, N. C.

Mr. Merrick, tonsorial artist, Durham, N. C.

Cody Bryant, Jasper County, Ga.

The late Robert Church, Memphis, Tenn.

The late John Trower, caterer, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Thomas Moultrie, caterer, Yonkers, N. Y.

The late John T. Cook, Washington, D. C.

#### OTHER INTELLECTUAL LIGHTS.

Rev. T. Nelson Baker, Ph.D., pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Pittsfield, Mass., had an interesting career.

He was born in Northampton County, Va., during the Civil War period. He didn't start to school, until he was twenty-one, barely knew his alphabet, and didn't know his multiplication tables. Yet he was valedictorian of his class at Hampton Institute, I believe, and successively commencement orator at Dr. Moody's school at Mt. Hermon, Mass., at Boston University and at the Yale Divinity School. He received his Ph.D. degree from Yale University in 1903, the title of his thesis being "The Ethical Significance of the Connection between Mind and Body." He did splendid work as pastor of the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church, New Haven. In Pittsfield, he has preached in some of the prominent white churches and has written for the daily press.

The address of Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams on "Intellectual Progress of the Colored Woman" at the World's Columbia Exposition was a credit to Mrs. Williams and the race.

Mrs. Ruth M. Collett of Philadelphia, Pa., wife of the late Rev. Mr. Collett, manager of the A. M. E. Publishing House, is one of the most resourceful and energetic business women of the race.

These are only some of our talented people. Other chapters will tell of those colored people who have not only possessed a full measure of talents, but who by fortunate occurrence of favorable circumstances were placed in positions to make history for the race and for mankind. They were not necessarily superior in ability to those colored persons mentioned in this and previous chapters but, favored by circumstances, they reached the pinnacle of fame.

FOOT NOTE.—There are a number of prominent preachers of the race whom lack of space prevents my elaborating upon. I refer to Rev. Dr. Phillips, former pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. E. W. Moore, D.D., of Philadelphia, Pa., a scholarly clergyman of imposing physique; Rev. W. D. Johnson of Philadelphia, Pa., and Rev. Dr. Winstone of Germantown, who draw big crowds; Presiding Elder I. F. W. Roundtree of Trenton, N. J., a Lincoln man, who took post-graduate courses at Princeton, a potent factor in New Jersey politics; Rev. H. C. Newby of Freehold, N. J., a refined and cultured gentleman of high character; Rev. J. R. Brown of Freehold, N. J., Newark's beloved pastor; Rev. Green W. Johnson and Rev. Asa S. Crook of Brooklyn, N. Y., two of the most eloquent and successful of the A. M. E. Zion preachers.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### *Some Distinguished Foreign Negroes*

When the slavery debate waged in Congress, the issue hung on the question of the humanity of the Negro. The South tried to remove him outside of the pale of humanity and endeavored to show that the Negro did not possess those intellectual, moral and æsthetical qualities, those higher and finer attributes and sentiments that differentiate civilized man from the savage and barbarian. Some then looked upon the Negro as part monkey and part man, and believed that Monkeyology as well as Psychology should be studied to understand him. They thought that he was the missing link between man and the lower animals that Darwin sought for and found not. I will say in passing that men no longer see in the Negro the half-brother or first cousin of the manlike ape, who bridged the chasm between monkey and man.

A Southern statesman, the eminent Calhoun, went so far as to say that if anyone would show him a Negro who could master a Greek grammar, conjugate a Greek verb, and solve the problem of Greek roots, that he would regard him as worthy of freedom and citizenship. Such was the estimate of the persecuted black man.

To be informed that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the early part of the nineteenth century, Henry Diaz was a colonel in the Brazilian army and that Hannibal and Alexander Dumas were generals in Russian and French armies; that Amo, another Negro, wrote two books on philosophy; that Capitein and Francis Williams, two more Negroes, wrote elegies in Latin; that Julien Raymond, another colored man, wrote noted treatises on politics, law and government; that Geoffrey L'Islet was a scientist, geographer and archæologist of international renown and world-wide fame; to hear that colored men distinguished themselves in Europe, Africa and the West Indies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as artisans, artists, poets, writers, swordsmen and inventors; to hear that Æsop,



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F. Z. S. PEREGRINO, ESQ.  
Editor of *The Spectator*,  
South Africa



PASTOR W. MOJOLO AGBABI, M.A.,  
PH.D., D.D.  
Lagos, West Africa





the creator of famous tales, and that Terence, the illustrious Latin poet, who said in the Coliseum at Rome, "I am a man and I think that nothing that pertains to humanity is foreign to me," had Negro blood coursing through their veins, reads like a romance and makes all adverse talk about the Negro sound like machinations. It sounds like a fairy tale or the Arabian Nights entertainment. Yet such was the case. Colored men in Europe rose to the highest pinnacle of fame and attained international renown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Where can these statements be verified? In "Gregoire's Enquiry." Who was Gregoire, who sought to instruct, enliven, and dazzle the world regarding the achievements of talented colored people? He was a famous French bishop, who was very conspicuous during the period of the French Revolution. He was called at first Abbé and then Count Gregoire.

Abbé Gregoire was born of poor but worthy parents at Veho, near Luneville, December 4, 1750, and died at Auteuil, May 28, 1831. He was educated at the Jesuitic schools at Metz and Nancy and soon entered into orders. He immediately leaped into prominence when the peace and serenity of France was being disturbed by the dark clouds that were silently and slowly gathering in the horizon and which were soon to break in that carnival of riot and bloodshed, such as the world had not seen since the Eve of St. Bartholomew's massacre. Gregoire was curé of Embermesnil, in the district of Nancy, in Lorraine, and was selected by the clergy of Lorraine as one of the deputies to represent them at the States General, where he immediately forged to the front as a debater. He immediately left the aristocratic traditions of the clergy and became a pronounced democrat. He favored, says the New International Encyclopedia, the secession of the Third Estate, the abolition of the royal power and the establishment of a republic. As secretary to the Constituent Assembly, he voted for the condemnation of King Louis XVI, but not for his execution. He proposed a suspension of the death penalty; but his proposal was voted down. Gregoire was a member of the council of Five Hundred, of the corps legislatif and of the senate in 1801.

But Abbé Gregoire did not confine his activities to the political field. He urged, we are informed by the New International

Encyclopedia, the abolition of special privileges for the nobles and clergy, and urged the civil constitution of the clergy. He was elected constitutional bishop from the department of Loire-et-Cher, taking the title of Bishop of Blois, which position he resigned on the conclusion of the concordat between Pius VII and Napoleon. A sincere democrat, he, in the words of the New International Encyclopedia, "opposed the proclamation of the Empire, and although created a count of the empire and an officer of the Legion of Honor, Gregoire resisted every step towards the establishment of the absolute authority of Napoleon and in 1814 was the first to pronounce against him. On the Restoration, he demanded from Louis XVIII the acceptance of the constitution. During the Hundred Days he attracted no notice. After the second return of the King, he was elected from the Senate, and when chosen as a deputy from the Department of Isere in 1819, his election was annulled. The last years of his life were spent in poverty and obscurity, for he had been expelled from the institute and denied his pension as an ex-senator. And he died at Auteuil, May 28, 1831, unreconciled to the church, which refused him the last offices of religion."

But though such an eminent statesman in that seething and surging sea of revolt, Gregoire was a patron of arts and sciences and a moral and social reformer. In 1793 he served on the committee of public instruction and encouraged literature, art and science. Under the directory, he continued his efforts for art and science. He wrote on the amelioration of the condition of the Jews and urged civil rights for the Jews. In 1789 he advocated Negro emancipation and in 1793 worked for the February 4th decree of 1794, whereby slavery was abolished in the French possessions. Gregoire was a voluminous writer. He wrote "Essai sur la régénération civile, morale, et politique des Juifs," "Histoire des Sectes Religieuses Depuis le Commencement de ce Siècle," "Annales de la Religion" (1795-1803), "Ruines de Port Royal," 1801, "Histoire des Sectes Religieuses," in 1800, "Essai Historique sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane," in 1818.

The new International and American Encyclopedias have brief accounts of Gregoire. Henry Carnot has a three-page article on Grégoire in a French encyclopedia. Gregoire is referred to in Pressene, "L'église et la Revolution Française Paris," 1864, and

Grazier, "Études sur l'Histoire Religieuse de la Revolution Française," Paris, 1887. Henry Carnot was editor of "Memoirs Ecclésiastiques, Politiques et Littéraires de Gregoire," in Paris, 1839. Krüger and Böhringer wrote biographies of Gregoire. But the best account of Abbé Gregoire is the work by Gregory, an American, entitled "Gregoire, the Priest and the Revolutionist." This was presented as a thesis before the University at Leipsic in 1876. This will give some idea of the versatility, scholarship and many-sided activity of the man. But the work by which he will be best remembered is a work written at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which attracted little attention then. It is entitled "An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties of Negroes," with an account of some fifteen talented Negroes, etc.

GREGOIRE'S ACCOUNT OF BRILLIANT SOLDIERS AND BRAVE  
WARRIORS.

It is said that when there was talk of enlisting Negro soldiers in the Civil War, the South scoffed at the idea, and even Northern officers, with the exception of General Saxton, Colonel Higginson, Colonel Shaw and Colonel Hallowell, distrusted the courage of the Negro. And yet Gregoire, writing over half a century before Fort Sumter was fired on, shows that in Henry Diaz, Alexander Dumas and John Kina, the Negro race has produced soldiers whose daring deeds and dazzling achievements matches anything we read about in Froissart's Chronicles and the Crusades; and tells of those terrible Maroons of Jamaica and Jacmel and Surinam, and of the red Caribs of Saint Vincent, and of the brave Black defenders of Guadaloupe, of the Black heroes at the siege of Savannah, whose courage equaled that of Leonidas' three hundred and that of the famous Light Brigade at Balaclava, and whose ferocity reminds us of the Huns.

Verily, when we really know the achievements of the Negro race, we find that "Truth is stranger than fiction." But before I quote what Gregoire has to say about his immortal writers, I desire to give his account of Alexander Dumas, Henry Diaz and John Kina, who, with the exception of Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines, were the greatest fighters the Negro race ever

produced; and of Saint George, one of the most remarkable swordsmen France has ever produced; Mentor and Julian Raymond, the famous statesmen; the brave Maroons and the intrepid Blacks of Guadaloupe and Jamaica. I will largely quote Gregoire's own language, because I cannot hope to surpass the vividness and brevity of Gregoire's description. Gregoire says:

Alexander Dumas, a mulatto, with four men, near Lisle, attacked a post of fifty Austrians, killed six and made sixteen prisoners. He during a long time commanded a legion of horse composed of blacks and mulattoes who were the terror of their enemies. In the Army of the Alps, with charged bayonet, he ascended St. Bernard, defended by a number of redoubts, and took possession of the cannon, which he immediately directed against the enemy. Others have already recounted the exploits by which he signalized himself in Europe and in Africa, for he was in the expedition to Egypt and on his return had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Neapolitan government, who kept him and Doleman two years in irons. Alexander Dumas, general of division, named by Bonaparte the Horatio Coeles of the Tyrols, died in 1807.

Daniel Murray, editor of "The Encyclopedia of the Negro Race," says that he was introduced by Napoleon to the French Convention in 1795 as the "Horatio Coeles of the Tyrol" and that Napoleon later named him commander-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine."

And now we come to Henry Diaz, the brilliant Brazilian hero, whose military achievements almost rank him as a soldier with Toussaint L'Ouverture, Cromwell and Washington, whose fearless courage places him in the small group of death-defying heroes in which Marshal Ney and Alexander Dumas, the Frenchmen, are conspicuous. It is related of him that in one battle he was severely wounded in his left hand, which was terribly lacerated. He severed the hand at the wrist, bound up the wound and continued the fight, saying that one good right hand was worth several wounded left hands. This was more than Spartan courage. Gregoire says of this hero:

Henry Diaz, who is extolled in all the histories of Brazil, was a Negro. Once a slave, he became a colonel of a regiment of foot-soldiers of his own color, to whom Brandano, who was certainly not a colonist, bestows the praise of talents and sagacity. This regiment composed of blacks still exists in Portuguese America under the name of Henry Diaz. The Hollanders, then possessors of Brazil, disturbed its inhabitants. In 1637,

Henry Diaz in order to chase the Hollanders away, joined the Portuguese. The former being besieged in the town of Arecise, having made a sally, were repulsed with great loss by a Negro general. He took the fort by assault which they had erected at some distance from this town. To a knowledge of military tactics and warlike manœuvre, by which the Dutch generals were often disconcerted, they combined the most determined courage. Henry Diaz forces Arecise to capitulate; Fernabou to surrender, and entirely destroys the Batavian army. . . . Menezes praises his consummate experience, and speaks of the Africans, who all of a sudden are converted into intrepid warriors. *Nova Lusitania, istoria de guerras Brasilicas*, by Francisco de Brito Freyre, folio, Lisbon, 1675; B. viii, p. 610, and B. lx, No. 762; *Istoria della guerre di Porto, gallo*, etc., di Alessandro Brandamo, 4to; Veneyio, 1689, pp. 181, 529, 564, 393, etc.

*Istoria della guerre del regno del Brasile*, etc., dal P. F. G. Jios, eppe, di santa Thhresa Carmelitano, folio, Roma, 1698; *Porti I*, pp. 133 183; *porti II*, p. 103 and following; *Historiarum Lusitanarum libri*, etc., autore Fernando de Meneyes, Counte Ericeyr, 2 vols. 4to, Nlyssippone, 1734, pp. 606, 635, 675, etc.; *LaCledé, Histoire de Portugal*, etc., passim. . . .

Oge was a martyr for trying to enforce the decree of the Constituent Assembly of the fifteenth of May. Gregoire says of him:

In 1791 he repassed by the way of England and the American continent to St. Domingo. He demanded the execution of the decrees. His reclamation founded upon reason, and sanctioned by divine authority, is rejected, the parties are exasperated and an attack ensues. Oge is perfidiously delivered up by the Spanish government. Thirteen of his companions are condemned to the galleys, more than twenty to the gibbet, and Oge with Chavanne are destined to the torture of the wheel. Report on the troubles of San Domingo by Garran, 4to, Paris, 6 vols., II, p. 52 and following, and p. 78.

Chevalier Sainte Georges, called the Voltaire of equitation, of fencing and instrumental music, who was knighted by Louis XVI of France and whom Daniel Murray says Talleyrand pronounced the most gifted individual he had ever met, was a man of color, Gregoire says, "By the amateurs of these exercises he was placed in the first rank and by the composers in the second or third. Some of his concertors are still held in estimation." He was such an expert with the gun that he could hit a ball thrown into the air. Gregoire still further says of him:

According to the traveler Arndt, this new Alcibiades was the finest, strongest and most amiable of his contemporaries and besides he was generous, a good citizen and a good friend. All people of fashion, or in other words, frivolous people considered him as an accomplished man. He was the idol of fashionable society. *Bruch-Stücke einer reise durch Frankreich im frühling und sommer, 1799, von Ernst, Moritz Arndt* 3 vols., 8 vols. Leipzig, 1808; vol. ii, pp. 36 and 37. When he fought a duel with the Chevalier Leon, it was almost an affair of state. When Saint George, who was considered the best swordsman of his time, was to fence or exhibit his musical talents, the newspapers announced it to the idle of the capital. His bow and his foil set all Paris in motion. Thus formerly they assembled at Seville, where a brotherhood of Negroes, which had not been destroyed, but which for lack of subjects existed no more, formed brilliant processions on certain holy days and performed also various manœuvres and evolutions. (Note communicated by Mr. de Lasteyrie, who has made several scientific voyages into Spain, the publication of which is expected.) . . .

John Kina of San Domingo was a Negro who fought against his own race; but his valor gained him the most flattering reception in London. The British government confided to him the command of a company of men of color, destined to protect the remote quarters of the colony of Surinam. In 1800 he crossed over to the Antilles; a humiliating pride reminds him that he is free; his heart swells with this sensation. He excites an insurrection to protect his brethren from the colonists, who, by employing the Negresses in hard labor, causes them to miscarry; and who resolved to expose free Negroes for sale. He is soon apprehended, sent to London and shut up in Newgate. . . .

Louis Desrouleaux was a Negro pastry cook of Nantes. After he left Nantes, he lived at the cape, where he had been a slave of Pinsum, of Bayonne, a captain in the Negro trade, who came with great riches to France, where he was at last ruined. Desrouleaux gave him a pension of 15,000 francs a year until his (Desrouleaux) death in 1774.

#### GREGOIRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE TERRIBLE MAROONS.

In 1795 the Maroons of Jamaica made the planters tremble. The Negro Maroons of Jacmel have been for almost a century the terror of Santo Domingo. Bellecombe, the most imperious of governors, was obliged by them to capitulate in 1785. There were not more than one hundred and twenty-five men on the French side and five on the Spanish. It is Page, the planter, who asks (in his treatise on the political economy and commerce of the colonists) whether it had ever been heard that these men violated the capitulation, although they were like wolves chased from the bushes. . . . In 1718, when they (the planters) were in peace with the red Caribs of St. Vincent, who are known to carry their bravery even to rashness, and who are more active and industrious than the white Caribs, an unjust and unsuccessful expedition was directed against those

of Martinico. Instead of being irritated, the year following they mildly acquiesced in a peace. These traits, says Chauvelin, are not found in the history of civilized nations. (*Voyage in Martinico by Chauvelin*, pp. 4 to 39.) In 1726, the Maroons of Surinam, whom the ferocity of the colonists has driven to despair, obtained their liberty with the sword and forced their oppressors to a treaty; they religiously observed their conventions.

In 1750, the Negroes of Jamaica revolted, with Tuchy as their chief; their tyrants remaining conquerors, many were condemned to the fires and all marched gaily to punishment; one, without emotion, saw his limbs reduced to ashes—one hand was disengaged, the flame having consumed the cord which confined it, he seizes a brand and darts it against the face of the executioner. . . .

In the seventeenth century, when Jamaica was still under the dominion of the Spaniards, a party of slaves, under the command of John de Bolas, regained their independence. They increased in numbers and became formidable after they had elected Cudjoe as chief, whose portrait is seen in Dallas's work. Cudjoe, equally brave, skillful and enterprising, in 1730, established a confederation among all the Maroon tribes; made the English tremble, and compelled them to make a treaty in which they acknowledged the freedom of the blacks and ceded to them forever a portion of the territory of Jamaica. . . .

Among the traits of bravery which Labat has collected, one of the most remarkable happened at the siege of Carthagena; all the troops of the line had been repulsed at the attack of Fort Bochachique. The Negroes, brought from St. Domingo, attacked with such impetuosity that the besieged were forced to surrender. . . . Labat, Vol. IV, p. 184. In 1703 the blacks took arms for the defense of Guadaloupe, and were more useful than all the rest of the French troops; at the same time, they defended Martinico against the English. The honorable conduct of the Negroes at the siege of Savannah, and at the taking of Pensacola, is well known; and also during our revolution, when incorporated with the French troops, they shared their dangers and their glory!

Two famous statesmen were Mentor and Julien Raymond. Gregoire says: "Mentor, born at Mortinco in 1771, was a Negro. In fighting against the English, he was made prisoner. In sight of the coast of Ushant, he took possession of the vessel which was conducting him to England and carried her into Brest." He was handsome in face and figure, gentle and amiable in disposition, cultured and refined in mind. He sat in the legislature by the side of Tomaury."

Gregoire says of Raymond: "Julien Raymond, a mulatto, was associated with the class of moral and political sciences for

the section of the legislation. He defended men of color and free Negroes with courage and ability. Many works were published of his, one 'Origine des Troubles de St. Domingo,' par Raymond, which relates to the history of St. Domingo, which may serve as an antidote to the impostures circulated by the colonists."

#### GREGOIRE'S ACCOUNT OF TALENTED COLORED PEOPLE.

And now we come to Gregoire's group of talented colored scholars and writers. Calhoun said that if anyone could show him a Negro who could master Greek syntax, why then he would regard him as a full-fledged man. To read that one hundred years before Calhoun made that remarkable statement, one Negro (Amo) wrote two books on philosophy that attracted the attention of the universities of Halle and Wittenberg; that two others (Capitein and Francis Williams) wrote elegies that were approved by the universities of Hague and Leyden, and Cambridge University and that caused Dr. Nichols to exclaim, "an orang outang couldn't write an elegy in Latin"; to read that Hannibal, a Negro, was a director of artillery and lieutenant-general under Peter the Great of Russia; that L'Islet Geoffroy, a mulatto, was an officer of artillery and guardian of the depot of maps and plans of the Isle of France; to read that he published a map of the Isles of France and wrote an account of the island of Madagascar; that Mentor and Julien Raymond, Negroes, were famous statesmen, orators and scholars of the French Revolution, and that Raymond was the author of many scholarly treatises, sounds like a tale of the Arabian Nights and yet these facts are brought out by Gregoire.

Higiemonde or Higiemonte, Hannibal, Amo, L'Islet Geoffroy, James Derham, Thomas Fuller, Othello, Bannaker, Gustavus Vassa, Cuguano, Capitein, Francis Williams, Sancho and Phillis Wheatley are the Negroes who in Gregoire's "Enquiry" were especially distinguished by their talents or works. Higiemonde or Higiemonte, generally called the Negro, won some renown as a talented artist. He seemed to possess more natural ability than acquired skill. Joachim de Sandrart in his work "*Achademia Nobillissimae Artis Pictoriae*" calls his paintings very celebrated (*clarissimus*).



Hannibal or Annibal was probably the first African Negro who distinguished himself for military ability in Europe. He had received a good education and under Peter the Great of Russia became lieutenant-general and director of artillery. Gregoire says he was decorated with the red ribbon of the order of St. Alexander Neuski. In 1784 he was lieutenant-general in a corps of artillery. It was he who, under the order of Prince Potemkin, minister of war, commenced the establishment of a port and fortress at Cherson, near the mouth of the Dnieper.

I will now quote Gregoire's own words in the account of talented colored people:

Antony William Amo, born in Guinea, was brought to Europe when very young, and the princess of Brunswick, Wolfenbottle, took charge of his education. He embraced the Lutheran religion, pursued his studies at Halle, in Saxony, and at Wittenberg. The Rectors and Council gave "public testimony" to his ability and character and stated that Terence was an African, and that many martyrs, doctors and fathers of the church were born in the same country.

He mastered Greek and Latin and gave private lectures on philosophy. The dean of the philosophical faculty, in a syllabus, stated that he had absorbed and assimilated the core and substance of ancient and modern philosophy. In 1734, he received a Ph.D. degree from the University at Wittenberg, supporting his thesis, and published a dissertation on "The Absence of Sensation in the Soul and its Presence in the Body." The president wrote him a letter, congratulating him and called him "Vir nobilissime et clarissime." This is the title "Dissertatio inauguralis philosophica de humane mentis (A H A Ø E I A) seu sensationis ac facultates sentiendi in mente humana absentia et earum in corpore nostro organico ac vivo presentia, quam prae-side, etc., publice defendit, auto, G. Amo, Guinea, afer. Philosophiae, etc., L. C. magister, etc. 1734, 4to; Wittenbergoe." The author endeavors to ascertain the difference of phenomena which takes place in beings simply existing and those endowed with life—a stone exists but is without life. Having been appointed a professor, he the same year supported a thesis, analogous to the preceding, on the distinction which ought to be made between the operators of mind and those of sense. The titles of these two dissertations prove that Amo, the author of the first, was also the author of the second. *Disputatio philosophica continens ideam distinctam earum quae competunt vel menti vel corpori nostro vivo et organico quam consenteienti amplissimorum philosophorum ordine prae-side M. aut. Guil. Amo, Guinea, afer, etc., defendit Joa. Theod. Mainer, Philos et I. V. Cultor, 4to. 1734, Wittenbergoe.*

The Court of Berlin conferred upon Amo the title of Counselor of State. After the death of the Princess of Brunswick he left Europe, where he had lived for thirty years, and went to Axim on the Gold Coast and then to Chama, where he lived as a recluse. David Henry Gallaumat visited him in 1753 and mentioned him in the *Memoirs* and the *Academy of Flessingue*.

L'Islet Geoffroy, a mulatto, was an officer of artillery and guardian of the depot of maps and plans of the Isle of France. The twenty-third of August, 1786, he was named correspondent of the Academy of Sciences. He is acknowledged as such in the *Connaissance des Temps* for the year 1791, published in 1789 by this learned society, to whom L'Islet regularly transmitted meteorological observations and sometimes hydrographical journals. The class of physical and mathematical sciences of the National Institute thought it their duty to adopt the members of the Academy of Sciences as correspondents and associates.

By what fatality is it that L' Islet forms the sole exception? Is it to his color? . . . His map of the Isle of France and Reunion, delineated according to astronomical observations, the geometrical operations of LaCaille and particular plans, was published in 1797, year 5, by order of the minister of marine. A new edition, corrected from drawings transmitted by the author, was published in 1802, year 10; it is the best map of these isles that has yet appeared.

In the precious collection of manuscript memoirs deposited in the archives of the Academy of Sciences we find the relation of a voyage of L'Islet to the Bay of St. Luce, an island of Madagascar, accompanied by a map of this bay and of the coast. He points out the exchangeable commodities, the resources which it presents and which would increase if, instead of exciting the natives to war in order to have slaves, they would encourage industry by the hope of an advantageous commerce. The descriptions he gives of the customs and manners of Malgaches are very curious. They discover a man versed in botany, natural philosophy, geology and astronomy. . . . Some person belonging to the expedition of Captain Bandin informed me that L'Islet, having established a scientific society at the Isle of France, some whites refused to be members merely because its founder was black.

In the almanac of the Isle of France, several contributions of L'Islet were inserted. Among others a description of Pitrebat, one of the highest mountains of the island.

James Gerham learned in languages, spoke with facility English, French and Spanish. Gerham was a colored physician of New Orleans, who flourished in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In 1788, Othello published at Baltimore an essay against slavery of Negroes. . . . Othello paints in strong colors the grief and sighs of children, fathers, brothers and husbands, dragged from the country which gave them birth—a country always dear to their hearts, by the remembrance of family and local impressions. . . . Few works can be compared to this of Othello for force of reasoning and fire of eloquence.

Banneker studied the works of Ferguson and the tables of Tobias Mayer and was an astronomer and almanac publisher, who attracted the attention of Thomas Jefferson.

Ottobah Cugoano, born on the coast of Fantin, in the town of Agimoque, was stolen by European slavers, carried to Grenada, received his freedom through the generosity of Lord Hoth, who carried him to England. He was there in the year 1778 in the service of Cosway, the first painter of the Prince of Wales. Piatoli, author of a treatise in Italian, on the situation and danger of burial grounds, which Vicq D' Azir, at the request of d'Alembert, translated into French. Piatoli, who, during a long residence in London, was particularly acquainted with Cugoano, then about forty years of age, and whose wife was an Englishwoman, praises highly this African and speaks in strong terms of his piety, his mild character, his modesty, his integrity and talents. . . . Like Othello, he paints the heart-rending spectacle of those unfortunate Africans who were forced to bid an eternal adieu to their native soil.

James Eliza John Capitein, born in Africa, was bought at seven or eight years of age, on the borders of the river St. Andre, by a Negro trader who made a present of him to one of his friends. The latter named him Capitein; he instructed him, baptized him, and brought him to Holland, where he acquired the language of that country. He devoted his time to painting, for which he had a great inclination. He commenced his studies at the Hague. Miss Boscam, a pious and learned lady who, in this respect resembled Miss Shurman, was much occupied with the study of languages; she taught him the Latin, the elements of the Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean tongues. From the Hague he went to the University of Leyden, and found everywhere zealous protectors. He devoted himself to theology, with the intention of returning home to preach the Gospel to his countrymen. Having studied four years, he took his degrees, and in 1742 was sent as a Calvinist minister to Elmina in Guinea. . . . The first work of Capitein was an elegy in Latin verse on the death of Mauger, minister at the Hague, his preceptor and his friend. Capitein, at his admission to the University of Leyden, published a Latin dissertation on the calling of the Gentiles, divided into three parts. . . . This Latin dissertation of Capitein, rich in erudition, though poor in argument, was translated into Dutch by Wilheur, with the portrait of the author as a frontispiece, in the dress of a minister, and has gone through four editions. He sought to reconcile his countrymen to slavery. . . . Capi-

tein also published a small volume (in 4to) of sermons in the Dutch language, preached in different towns, and printed at Amsterdam in 1742.

Professor Chamberlain says he was likewise the author of an appeal to the heathen to accept Christianity.

Francis Williams was born in Jamaica of Negro parents, towards the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Information about this Negro poet was taken from the history of Jamaica (by Long), whose statements were governed by prejudice. He died at the age of seventy, a short time before the publication by Long, which appeared in 1774.

The Duke of Montaigne, impressed by his "precocity," sent him to England, where he studied first in private schools, then entered the University of Cambridge, where he distinguished himself in mathematics. While in England, he published a song, which begins, "Welcome, welcome, brother debtor," which made such a hit that several white men claimed it as their own. Returning to England, his patron tried in vain to secure him a place in the council of the government. Williams then opened a school, where he taught Latin and mathematics. He published a Latin ode to George Holdane, governor of Jamaica. Dr. Nichols, seeing this Latin ode, and feeling indignant against the colonists for comparing blacks with apes, exclaimed, "I have never heard that an orang outang has composed an ode . . . Among the defenders of slavery, we do not find (says he) one-half of the literary merit of Phillis Wheatley and Francis Williams." (In letter to the treasurer of the society instituted for the purpose of effecting the abolition of the slave trade, from the Rev. Robert Bouche Nichols, dean of Middleham. 8vo; London, 1788, p. 46.)

Olandad Equiano Vasso was born in Essaka, in 1746, stolen at the age of twelve, sold at Barbadoes, resold to the lieutenant of a vessel, who brought him directly to England and with whom he went to Guernsey; to the siege of Louisburg, in Canada; with Admiral Boscawen, in 1738; and to the siege of Belle Isle in 1761. He was sold at Montserrat; made several voyages to the Antilles; to America; returned several times to Europe and visited Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey and Greenland; began a small trade and at last in 1781, having escaped the dangers of the sea, being several times shipwrecked and having avoided the cruelty of his masters, one of whom, at Savannah, proposed to assassinate him, after thirty years of a wandering and stormy life, Vassa, restored to liberty, established himself at London, where he married and published his memoirs, which have been several times reprinted in both hemispheres and of which there was a new edition in 1794. Doctor Irving taught him to distill water. In a passage to the North, he distilled and made the water palatable. His son, named Sancho, versed in bibliography, was an assistant librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, and was also secretary to the committee for vaccination.

Ignatius Sancho was born when his mother was conveyed by a slave trader from Guinea to Spanish America. She died in Spanish America and slavery drove his father to suicide. He was baptized at Carthage by Bishop Ignatius. His master carried him to England and presented him to three young sisters at Greenwich. His resemblance to the knight of Don Quixote led them to give him this name. He attracted the attention of the Duke of Montaigne, who lived at Blackheath and who lent him books. But his master died and the sisters checked his sentimental and scholastic ambitions. He bought a pistol with five shillings and planned suicide. He became butler of the Duchess. By his industry and her legacy he became the possessor of seventy pounds sterling and "thirty of an annuity." He loved books, theatre, women and gambling; renounced gambling when a Jew "won all his clothing"; "he spent his last shilling at Drury-lane to see Garrick, to whom afterward he became a friend"; he tried to be an actor and represent Othello and Oronoko, but was hampered by a bad articulation; he then became chaplain for a family of Montaigne, threw off all his wild and dissolute habits and married a charming West Indian beauty. In 1773, he was attacked by the gout while following an honest trade. He and his wife reared a large family. On December 15, 1780, he died. An edition of his letters was published in two volumes (8vo) "of which there was a second edition in 1783, with the life of the author and his portrait, designed by Bartholozzi, and engraved by Gainsborough." Jefferson thought he was too imaginative and that he had a graceful style and a sweet and noble nature. Imlay thought that Jefferson was prejudiced against Negroes. His style "resembled" that of Sterne, who wrote him a splendid letter, published in his third volume of letters. "He has the grace and lightness of the fancy style."

Phillis Wheatley, stolen from Africa when seven or eight years old, carried to America and sold in 1561 to John Wheatley, a rich Boston merchant, "was of amiable manners, exquisite sensibility and premature talents." Her family was kind to her. She read the Scriptures and mastered Latin. In 1772, at nineteen years of age, she published a little volume of religious and moral poems, containing thirty-nine pieces. The work ran through several editions in England and in the United States. On the title page was a declaration, signed by her master, the governor, the lieutenant-governor, and fifteen other prominent Boston people. In 1775 her master set her free. In 1777, she married a man of color, who was a grocer, later became a lawyer, with the name of Doctor Peter and "plead the cause of blacks before tribunals," thereby securing quite a fortune. Her husband harshly upbraided and reproved her because she was not a good housekeeper. In 1780 she died of a broken heart. Twelve of her poems relate to the death of friends. Her poetry was moral, religious, sentimental and melancholic.

Elesban in his calendar of the Catholics, has inserted the names of many blacks.

Benoit of Palermo, also named Benoit of St. Philadelphia or of Santo Fratello; Benoit the Moor and holy black, was the son of a Negress slave and himself a Negro. Roccho Pirro, author of the *Silicia Sacra*, characterizes him by these words, "Nigro quidem corpore sed candore animi praeclarissimus quem et miraculis Deris contestatum esse voluit." "His body was black; but it pleased God to testify by miracles the whiteness of his soul." He was quiet, modest and unassuming. He died at Palermo, in 1589, where his tomb and memory are generally revered. . . . Roccho Pirro, father Arthur, Gravina and many other writers are full of elegies concerning this venerable Negro, Benoit of Palermo.

Belinda, stolen when twelve years of age, in 1782, addressed a petition to the legislature of Massachusetts. "The authors of the American Museum have preserved this petition, written without art, but dictated by the eloquence of grief and therefore more fit to move the heart to pity." She said that forty years service would not procure freedom for her or her child.

Bloomfield, translated by de la Vaisse, 6vo, Paris, 1800 or 1802, says: "Greensted, a female servant at Maidstone and Anne Yearsley, a simple milkmaid of Bristol, are already placed in the rank of poets. The misfortune of Negroes forms the subject of the muse of the last mentioned author, whose works have gone through four editions."

#### OTHER DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN NEGROES.

Daniel Murray of Washington, D. C., says that Jules Raimond, the statesman and scholar, whom Gregoire eulogizes, helped to draw up the Code Napoleon. There were two brilliant soldiers of the Napoleonic era whom Gregoire overlooked. They were General Louis Delgres, the heroic black defender of Guadeloupe in 1807, and General Jean Francois Coquille Dugoumier, who was killed in battle and whose name was inscribed on the column of the Pantheon by order of Napoleon Bonaparte, under whom he served. Daniel Murray says that he commanded 60,000 men at St. Sebastian and that his name decorates the Arc de Triomphe. I understand that a full-blooded Negro from Algiers is a general in the French army, and that there is a Negro admiral in the French navy, and incidentally I will state that there are more Negroes in Paris than in London.

Gregoire claims that Beronicius, a chimney sweep of Holland, wrote Latin poems; and that his poem, in two books, entitled, "Georgar or the Battle between the Peasants and the

Great," has been translated into Holland verse and reprinted (in 8vo) at Middleburg in 1766.

And now we come to another group of talented colored men whom Gregoire refers to. Gregoire says that Castaing, a mulatto, "exhibited poetic genius" and that "his pieces ornament different editions of poetry." Barland Boyer and Michael Mina, mulattoes of St. Domingo, were authors. Boisrond, a mulatto, was the author of "*Precis des Gemissemendes des Sangmeles.*"

Gregoire says "the history of Congo gives an account of a black bishop who studied at Rome" (Prevot, *Gen. History of Voyages*, Vol. V, p. 53). Gregoire also says that "the son of a king and many young people of this country sent into Portugal in the time of King Emmanuel were distinguished at the universities, and many of them were promoted to the priesthood." (*History of Portugal* by Clede, 2 vols., 4to; Paris, 1735, Vol. I, pp. 594 and 595.)

Gregoire says, also:

Near the close of the seventeenth century, Admiral Du Quesne saw at the Cape Verd isles a Catholic Negro clergy, with the exception of the Bishop and Curate of St. Yago. (*Journal of a voyage to the East Indies*, on board the squadron of Du Quesne, 2 vols. in 12mo; Rouen, 1721; Vol. I, p. 193; and narrative of a voyage to and return from the East Indies during the years 1690 and 1691 by Claude Michel, Ponchot de Clantissin of the guard on board Du Quesne, 12mo; Paris, p. 80.) . . . In our time, Barrow and Jackqueline Socre, bishop of Cayenne, found the same establishment still in force. (*Barrow, voyage to Cochin China*, Vol. I, p. 87.)

Gregoire says, too, that Madam Belm's Historical Romance, "Oronoko," was founded on the life of the African Prince Oronoko, sold at Surinam, and who was a black Spartacus.

The traveler Pratt (in vol. II. p. 208) proclaims Herbert Pott, a simple workman living in Holland in the seventeenth century, the father of elegiac poetry in Holland," and in the Middleburg edition of the works of Beronicus, the print which serves as a frontispiece represents Apollo crowning the poet chimney-sweep with laurels.

A servant of Glats in Selesia has lately excited public attention by his romances—*La Prusse litteraire*, par Deniva; article, Peynemans.

Bloomfield, a ploughman, has published a volume of poetry which has undergone several editions and a part of which has been translated into our language.

DISTINGUISHED WEST INDIAN AND AFRICAN NEGROES.

Africa and the West Indies have produced several distinguished men. Dr. J. E. London of Georgetown, British Guiana, has been signally honored. He is a graduate of the College of Physicians, London; is a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, England; a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians; a licentiate of the Apothecaries Society; and a fellow of the Chemical Society. This is his name with degrees and titles, Dr. J. E. London, M.D., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.S., L.S.A., and F.C.S. That is enough for one mortal to be burdened with.

When Lord Lister was elevated to the baronetcy, Dr. London was his special guest from British Guiana and represented the colony on that occasion. He married an English lady who was educated in England.

Dr. S. F. Herbert is another intellectual prodigy of British Guiana. He was divinity prizeman in the third year of his course, although a medical student. He stood highest in scholarship at King's College; and completed his classical course at Oxford, beating every competitor, and was complimented by Gladstone, who presented the prize; then he graduated from the College of Physicians of London. Professor Quain of Oxford said that his extensive classical learning would have won him a fellowship and chair at Oxford had he continued his classical studies.

The late Sir William Conrad Reeves of Barbadoes, chief justice of Barbadoes, who was knighted by Queen Victoria, was a graduate of the Inner Temple, England, and a master of Roman law. He worked his way up by sheer force of character. He was born a poor boy and went to school in Bridgetown, Barbadoes. Young Reeves excelled as a debater in the debating society at the Bridgetown School. The citizens became interested in him, raised the necessary funds and sent him to England to complete his education. As solicitor-general, he won every case he handled and was probably the greatest Negro jurist the British West Indies ever produced.



Cyprian Jolly, a mulatto, born and raised in the West Indies, is reputed to be worth several hundred thousand dollars.

But I believe that Dr. York Russell, a West Indian physician, practicing in New York City, with the possible exception of Dr. J. E. London, is the greatest living West Indian, and is as splendid a specimen of the pure Negro as I have ever met. He stands nearly six feet in height, weighs over two hundred pounds, has a strong face, a rich, ringing, resonant, baritone voice, and an unusual amount of personal magnetism. As an orator, whether he addresses a church, a Y. M. C. A., a Y. W. C. A., a literary society or presides at a banquet to the Liberian Legation, he always charms, captivates and electrifies his audience. But it is as a conversationalist that Dr. York Russell is especially brilliant. He is a profound student of history and is steeped in classical learning and Biblical lore. His is a richly-stored mind. The wealth of his information, the beauty of his imagery, the vividness of his illustrations, the fluency of his speech, the brilliancy of his repartee, the richness of his voice and the magnetism of his virile, manly personality, cause Dr. Russell to easily impress an auditor of one or an audience of a thousand. Magnificent in physique, brilliant in mind, with a rugged strength of character and an inborn manliness and innate self respect, Dr. York Russell stands forth as a representative of the possibilities of Negro manhood.

Professor Fileen of New York City, a tutor in Latin and Greek, and a specialist in modern languages, is a West Indian Negro, who recently passed the civil service examination in New York for the position of interpreter of modern languages. He is a student of sociology, philosophy and English literature, as well as a linguist, and takes a high rank among the scholars of the race. Like Blyden and Scarborough, he is a ripe and erudite scholar.

Dr. Morgan of Yonkers, N. Y., is a sociologist and another scholarly West Indian Negro.

And now we come to four African Negroes. Mr. Charles L. Moore of New Haven, Conn., associate manager for seven years of Williams & Walker's Troupe, which performed before the king of England, the Prince of Wales and, in fact, the royalty of England, has visited England, Scotland, Ireland, France,

Germany and Cape Town, Africa, and has met some of the prominent African Negroes. While sailing from Cape Town, Africa, to Liverpool, England, he with several other passengers noticed two distinguished-looking Englishmen constantly in the company of a big, powerfully built Negro about fifty years of age, who possessed a fine, musical voice and a courtly bearing. Some officious Americans remonstrated with the Englishmen for showering such attention upon the big, proud and graceful black. Great was their surprise when they learned that he was Henry Prentiss, a native of the Gold Coast of Africa, who graduated from the University of Edinburgh, and was reported to be worth three million pounds sterling, which fortune he had made as a gold miner near Akra, Africa. Immediately he was the lion of the ship.

It is the custom of the black merchants from the Gold Coast of Africa, who go to London every year to buy goods, to have a commerce of trades dinner at Holborn's restaurant, Holborn Street, near Southampton Road, London. When Mr. Moore was in England, an African prince of the Gold Coast gave a dinner to these hundred and fifty colored Londoners and Africans. Mr. Moore was the guest of Maurice A. Aga, a full-blooded young Negro, who had received a degree from Oxford and was a successful barrister. One of his brothers was a student at the Crystal Palace Scientific School.

#### RICH NEGROES.

Henry Prentiss, Akra, Gold Coast, West Africa, graduate of Edinburgh University, reputed to be worth three million pounds sterling.

Hon. James Carmichael Smith, ex-postmaster general of Sierra Leone, Africa.

The late Sir Henry Lewis, Chief Justice in Sierra Leone or Akra, Africa.

Cyprian Jolly, West Indies, worth several hundred thousand.

Dr. J. E. London, Georgetown, British Guiana.

Colard Ward, a Jamaica millionaire, gave a \$25,000 organ to the Catholic Church.

Don Juan Knight, Guatemala, Central America, reputed to be worth \$70,000,000.

PROMINENT WEST INDIAN AND SOUTH AMERICAN NEGROES.

Dr. W. W. Campbell, Georgetown, British Guiana, South America.

A. A. Thorne, Demarara, British Guiana, South America.

Miss A. H. Bridgewater, postmistress near Charleston.

The late John Bridgewater, Nevis, West Indies.

Rev. J. B. Wood, Kingston Manse, Georgetown, British Guiana, South America.

The late Rev. Thomas Chambers, Georgetown, British Guiana, South America.

Durant, a linguist who could read a dozen languages and speak seven or eight fluently was a contemporary of the late Sir William Conrad Reeves in Barbadoes.

Edward Jordan of Jamaica, knighted by Queen Victoria, was the first colored man to be so honored.

George Stiebel of Barbadoes was a colored millionaire who made a fortune out of silver mines in South America, and Queen Victoria bestowed upon him the knightly order of C.M.G.

A monument has been erected in honor of the late George William Gordan of Jamaica. He was a member of the House of Assembly, and a leader of the people and a martyr.

The late Hon. Samuel Constantine Burke served honorably as attorney-general of Jamaica.

Hector Josephs, attorney-general of Jamaica, graduated from the Inner Temple of London. Chief Justice Linn said that he was a credit to his country and an honor to his alma mater.

The daughter of ex-Mayor Harris of Kingston danced with King Edward when he visited Kingston as Prince of Wales.

JOSEPH RACHELL.

The virtues and benevolence of Joseph Rachell are recounted in a letter written by William Dickinson, formerly private secretary to the late Hon. Edward Hay, governor of Barbadoes. The letter is extracted from a private journal, and is as follows:

Feb. 23, 1788.

When I resided in Barbadoes in the year 1769, I was very much struck with the accounts given me by my father and other inhabitants of the island concerning one Joseph Rachell, a Negro. This J. R. was a free Negro. I know not by what means he obtained his freedom. He was,

however, a capital merchant, and kept what is called a dry-good-shop. He was, by all accounts, an ingenious, industrious, and upright tradesman. Whenever the young tradesmen were at a loss how to proceed in any matter of commerce, they generally consulted J. R. and whenever any doubt arose about the value of the cargo of goods J. R. was often the man by whose opinion the price was fixed. Whenever the captains of vessels arrived with a cargo J. R. was one of the first persons waited upon, and one of the first to whom the cargo was offered. I have not heard that he traded much to England. His connexions seem to have been chiefly confined to the Leeward Islands, Demarara, Essequibo, &c., &c. He had some white persons under him, such as his book-keeper, his apprentices, &c., &c., and these always spoke of him in a very respectful manner, and particularly revered him for his humanity and tenderness. He was extremely kind in lending out money to poor, industrious men, in order to enable them to begin their trade, or to retrieve them from difficulties which their trade would unavoidably bring upon them. But there was one peculiar trait in his character. It is well known in our island that a planter or merchant is often obliged by some cogent or sudden distress to sell his property instantly for whatever he can procure, be it ever so small. Now, such was the benevolence of this excellent Negro, that he would go to the vendue, bid gravely for the property, give a fair market price for it, and tender it to the owner again, upon the very same terms at which he himself bought it; and if the price of the estate exceeded the value of the debt, J. R. always took care to pay off the debt himself before the tender was made, and thus the planter might reënter upon his property, free from all incumbrances, excepting those owing to J. R. himself. By these humane and judicious means, he has extricated many families from ruin.—J. R. was also very charitable. He kept a gang of fishing Negroes, and, when his boats returned home, he set apart every day, a quantity of fish, for the use of the prisoners in the town gaol. He visited the gaol regularly, enquired into the circumstances of the prisoners, and gave them relief, in proportion to their distresses and good behaviour.\* Nay, he used to give them good moral advice, and, for aught I know, religious advice. His example stirred up a noble spirit of generosity in Bridge-town, insomuch that it was the custom, for some years before his death, for the better sort of people to send weekly, either money or provisions to the gaol. He supported two or three old indigent whites, and left them something at his death. It was remarkable, too, that he was extremely kind to his Negroes. I have heard my father lament much that J. R.'s generosity was much imposed upon, both by whites and blacks. He frequented St. Michael's Church on Sundays, and I have heard our worthy minister say that he believed

\* I have heard poor white persons talk of J. R. to this effect,—Mr. Rachell was a blessed man, for no poor thing ever went away hungry from his house; and some, who had seen better days, were shewn into a back room, and had victuals set before them. W. D.

him to be a very attentive and devout hearer.—He died about 30 years ago (i. e., about 1758) possessed of a good deal of property, and lies buried in the centre of the old churchyard in Bridgetown.

His funeral was attended by thousands of whites (some of them very respectable people) and by a prodigious concourse of blacks, and I believe that his loss was very sensibly felt for many years. There is a tomb-stone over his grave, but no inscription or memorial.\*

#### THE NEGROES OF SEVILLA.

(By Arthur A. Schomburg.)

One of the greatest difficulties to the student in quest of historical data is that of locating Negroes who have lived in Europe and America in the early centuries and who have won fame and honor in divers fields of endeavor and opportunity.

During the middle of the thirteenth century Negroes as slaves and free-men lived in the city of Sevilla. The historian Diego Ortiz Zuniga, who wrote the Ecclesiastical and Secular Annals of Sevilla from the year 1246 to 1671, in volume XII, covering the year 1475, says: "Negroes from the time of King Henry III to the present time have been treated very kindly and were permitted to attend the feasts and dances during the holidays, and it was not only noticed that they would return pleased to their labors but that they better tolerated their captivity." He instances the fact that a Negro, one Juan Valladolid, was given the title of mayor, his function being to intercede with masters in behalf of their slaves, with judges before whom they were brought for petty offenses, and it is so engrossed among old papers and is credited with a king's warrant given at Duenas, November 8th, 1475, in these words: "For the many good, loyal and marked services which you have shown and still show us each day, and because we know your proficiency and usefulness and disposition, we have made you mayor—judge of all Negroes, Negresses, Mulattoes, free or slave who are captive in the very noble and very loyal city of Sevilla and in all its archbishopric, that they cannot make or perform any settlement amongst themselves except with the knowledge and cognizance of the said Juan Valladolid, our judge-mayor of the said Negroes and Mulattoes and we demand that you should have knowledge of their debates, suits and marriages and other things amongst them and with no other, for thou art a person of knowledge who is versed in the laws and ordinances, and we are informed that you are of noble lineage amongst the

\* The tomb which was shewn to me as that of J. R. is a handsome one of bluish marble. He left a widow, who, I think, is called Betty Rachell, of whom I heard nothing remarkable.—The above account of J. R. agrees very well with that given by Mr. Ramsay at p. 254 of his essay. To authorities so respectable I can add nothing but that, in Barbadoes, I have repeatedly heard similar accounts of that excellent Negro. His innocent stratagem, in particular, to get rid of the teasing visits of a certain avaricious colonel (whom I could name), I have more than once heard related, with much glee. W. D.

said Negroes." Juan Valladolid, because of his deportment and the esteem in which he was held, was commonly called the Negro Count and a street named in his honor is still known in Sevilla. It is situated outside the gates of Carmona, back of the place where Negroes have their chapel, known as Our Lady of the Angels, and where their brotherhood is situated, so old is it, says this author.

#### THE NEGRO IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

Professor Chamberlain says of Miguel Kapranzine:

In 1631 the Portuguese finally established as chief of the Kalanga, a Bantu tribe, of Southeast Africa, a native convert, who, a few years before, had been proclaimed by the army and the Dominican missionaries, "Manuza, Emperor of Monomotapa." The Christian forces were completely successful in a great battle, and among the captives taken was the young son of Kapranzine, really the rightful claimant to the throne. This boy was sent to Goa, technically a prisoner, and handed over to the Dominicans of that city to be educated at the expense of the crown. He was baptized by the name of Miguel, became a member of the order of the Dominicans, devoted himself arduously and successfully to study, and won fame as one of the greatest preachers in Portuguese India. In 1670, when he was still in the prime of life, the general of the Dominican Order conferred upon him the degree of Master in Theology, which would correspond to our D.D. When he died, he held the position of vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara in Goa. As Mr. Theal, the historian of South Africa, observes, "fiction surely has no stranger story than his." From a Kaffir kraal to high office in the religious life of a city, of which the saying went, "If you have seen Goa, you do not need to see Lisbon!"

Professor Chamberlain, in his remarkable article in the "Journal of Race Development," to which I have frequently referred, brings out the fact that the Negro is represented in Spanish art. He says:

In Spain, where, besides some diluted Negro blood came in with the Moors, we find a remarkable remembrancer of the black man in the field of art. In one of the churches of Seville are to be seen four beautiful pictures (Christ bound to a column, with St. Peter kneeling at his side; St. Joseph; St. Anne; Madonna and Child), the work of the mulatto, Sebastian Gomez, the slave, then the pupil, the companion and the equal of his master, the great painter Murillo, who had him made a free citizen of Spain, and at his death (1682) left him part of his estate. And, in their voyages and travels the Spaniards in the New World had the services of the Negro.

Professor Chamberlain, in his article upon "The Negro's Contribution to Civilization," tells of Latino, said to be a member of

FOOT NOTE.—An American poetess has dedicated a poem to Gomez.

the faculty of the University of Seville, and of Crespo, who distinguished himself at the University of Coimbra. Professor Chamberlain says:

The history of Angola under the rule of the Portuguese shows that many Negroes from that part of Africa studied successfully at Coimbra. It may not be out of place to mention here also the fact that among the distinguished graduates of this ancient institution of learning is to be counted A. C. G. Crespo (1846-1883), poet and man of letters, with both an American and a European reputation, and at one time a member of the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies. His father was a white man, his mother a black slave in Brazil. The University of Seville in Spain is said to have had at one time a Negro as a member of its faculty, viz., Don Juan Latino, a noted professor of Latin. It is probable that a complete record of the activities of the universities of Latin Europe would reveal other interesting instances of the participation of Negroes in the academic world.

#### NEGRO SOLDIER.

In the foot note to page 495 of George Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature" we find:

It may not be amiss here to add that another Negro is celebrated in a play written with skill in good Castilian, and claiming, at the end, to be founded in fact. It is called "El Valiente Negro en Flandes," by Andres de Claramonte, actor and playwright and is found in Tom. XXXI, 1638, of the collection of comedias printed at Barcelona and Saragossa. The Negro in question, however, was not like Juan Latino, a native African, but was a slave born in Merida, and was distinguished only as a soldier, serving with great honor under the Duke of Alva, and enjoying the favor of that severe general.

#### THE NEGRO STATE OF PALMARES.

Mrs. Child, on page 173 of "An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans," says:

Between 1620 and 1630, some fugitive Negroes united with some Brazilians and formed two free states in South America, called the Great and Little Palmares, so named on account of the abundance of palm trees. . . . The Great Palmares was nearly destroyed by the Hollanders, in 1644, but at the close of the war the slaves in the neighborhood of Fernanbone resolved to form an establishment which would secure their freedom. Like the old Romans, they obtained wives by making incursions upon their neighbors, and carrying off the women.

They formed a constitution, established tribunals of justice, and adopted a form of worship similar to Christianity. The chiefs, chosen for life, were elected by the people.

They fortified their principal towns, cultivated their gardens and fields and reared domestic animals. They lived in prosperity and peace until 1696, when the Portuguese prepared an expedition against them. The Palmarisians defended themselves with desperate valor, but were overcome by superior numbers. Some rushed upon death, that they might not survive their liberty, others were sold and dispersed by the conquerors. Thus ended this interesting republic. Had it continued to the present time, it might have produced a very material change in the character and condition of the colored race.

#### ODDS AND ENDS—DISTINGUISHED NEGROES.

General Alfred Dodds, a quadroon, is one of the ablest commanders in the French army.

General Boulanger, after whom the celebrated Boulanger march was named, was said by Mr. Morrell to have had Negro blood coursing through his veins. I do not know whether there is any truth in this rumor and am inclined to doubt the story.

A black Algerian general was honored in France, so I believe Mr. Butler R. Wilson of Boston told me.

A black general is conspicuous in one of the series of paintings giving epochs of French history.

A French countess is represented in a painting in the Louvre, telling a story to a black page, whose face is radiant with intelligence and boyish wonder.

A small bust of Longfellow is in a corner of Westminster Abbey. At the entrance is a large bust of a Negro.

Mr. W. H. Morrell is a colored man who traveled with John Slater of Slater Mills, visiting Africa and Asia.

#### TALENTED NEGROES.

Prince Hall, founder of Negro Masonry in America, in Boston.

Eustace, philanthropist, winner of the Monthyn prize of virtue, San Domingo.

Brindis de Salo, violinist, decorated by crowned heads of Europe.

Martin R. Delaney, explorer, journalist and physician.

"A Dutch Guiana Negro, who worked in one of the Lynn shops, had invented a somewhat crude machine to last shoes, which saved much time and labor. After the usual fashion of inventors, he had hawked it about with no success. Winslow heard of it, and, together with George W. Brown, then New England agent



for the Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine Company, he bought and backed this patent which became the nucleus of the great United Shoe Machinery Company."—*From the article "The Millionaire Yield of Boston," by Isaac F. Marcossou, in The Munsey Magazine for August, 1912.*

Chief Araby of Surinam concluded in 1761 a treaty of peace with the Dutch and it was ratified, founded on the basis of equality between the parties from the African point of view.

The African Company, between the years 1680 and 1688, imported into the British West Indies 46,396 slaves.

Christian Sout, a Negro who received his freedom for acting as a spy in the slave insurrection of 1733 in the Danish West Indies, was highly intelligent, skillful and successful as a botanist in the use of medicinal plants.

One of the early Negro papers, founded since emancipation in 1837 and devoted chiefly to the colored interests, was the *New Times*, at Barbadoes, under the leadership of the Negro, Mr. Prescod.

The first Negroes—a tribe of blacks—seen in the New World was at Quarequa, by Vasco Nunez in the year 1513. These blacks were supposed to have been shipwrecked upon the coast. Will Negro historians unravel the mystery? Did they cross the equator into Brazil during the period of Hanno's travels?

A fleet of over twenty sail, under Admiral Harvey, was safely piloted to Trinidad in 1797 by Alfred Sharper, a Mandingo Negro.

The Negro women of the tropics are entitled to the highest tribute of praise for the part they took in every attempt to gain their freedom, as women, mothers and fighters.

The Creole grammar lately published in Trinidad by the late J. J. Thomas, a colored gentleman who seems to be at once no mean philosopher and no mean humorist, is a curious book, says Charles Kingsley in his "At Last." Thomas was Froude's Nemesis in his latest work, "Froudacity."

Mr. Richard Hill, a special magistrate and member of the assembly at Jamaica, to whom Lord Sligo paid a high compliment, was the author of books on Hayti and Jamaica.

Joseph Rachel of Bridgetown, Barbadoes, a free Negro of wealth, who died in 1758, was known as a most generous, charita-

ble and kind man. His funeral was attended by thousands of whites and by a prodigious concourse of blacks.

Napoleon scattered the bodies of French soldiers throughout Europe, and Negroes, as soldiers, are sleeping from the extreme north of the United States through Central America to the extreme south of the Argentine Republic. At Bunker Hill, Fort Wagner, Carobobo and San Martin Negro blood helped to free America from monarchical despotism.

Raimundo Cabrebra, author of "Cuba and the Cubans," on page 117 of his work, says: "In music, White, Cervantes, Diaz, Albertini and Jiménez, distinguished alumni and winners of first prizes at the Conservatory of Paris, artists whose genius has been admired in Vienna, London, Paris and other great centres of Europe and in America; some of the former, like the mulatto White, are exiled from their native soil; he is the head of the conservatory of music of Brazil."

Pastor W. Mojolo Agbebi, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Lagos, West Coast of Africa, director of the Niger Delta Mission and president of the native Baptist Union of West Africa, studied theology in Colwyn Bay College, in Wales, an institution for West Africans, and read a paper on the "West African Problem" at the Universal Race Congress, in London, in July, 1911. His address took up the general discussion, inter-racial marriage, segregation, secret societies, ancestral and hero worship, witchcraft, cannibalism, marriage in Africa and Islam. The keynote of his remarkable address was sounded in his closing words, when he said: "The African is no big child, no child-race, according to the current expression of some Europeans; but a full-fledged man in the 'eternal providence' of the world. He may be a child in respect of European greed and aggrandisement, European subtlety and guile, European trespasses and sins; but he is not a child to his creation or the law of his being."

Caseley Hayford, author of "Gold Coast Native Institutions" and "Ethiopian Unbound," graduated from Inner Temple, England, and is now barrister-at-law at Secondi, Gold Coast, Africa.

#### MIXED BLOOD.

(Editorial by Philip Hale in the *Boston Herald*, September 17, 1912.)

London newspapers just received inform us that the late Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, the composer, was "not only not ashamed but intensely

proud of his Negro origin; and he was greatly interested in the theory that Beethoven had colored blood in his veins. He used to say that the supposition was borne out by the great composer's type of feature and many little points in his character." Strange things have been written about Beethoven and his music, especially by his biographers. Has anyone stated clearly just when the tar brush entered into the family history of the composer of the Ninth Symphony and the great Mass? In Beethoven's time there was a famous Negro fiddler named Bridgetower, and not long ago a mulatto named White was celebrated as a fiddler in European cities and as a teacher in Paris.

As is well known, the father of Coleridge-Taylor was a West African physician, a Negro or mulatto—as to the precise shade we are not informed—and the mother of the composer was an Englishwoman. This fact excited no adverse comment in England, nor are we told that the relatives of the West African despised the white woman for mating with a Negro. It is said that Mrs. Johnson, the wife of the Negro pugilist, killed herself because she considered herself an outcast; because she was flouted by Negro women, even her own maids. It is also said—the tale may or may not be true—that when Frederick Douglass in his later years married a white woman her lot was unfortunate and she suffered acutely from the hostility shown her by those closest to Douglass and of Negro blood.

Neither Alexander Dumas the elder nor Dumas the younger was the less esteemed because of Negro blood that was unmistakably revealed. Many white women were fascinated by the famous father and the famous son. Neither one of the two suffered socially. There was Negro blood in Charles Cros; nor was Heredia, the distinguished poet, reminded insultingly in Paris of his mixed blood; his daughters in their youth were distinguished beauties and two made brilliant marriages.

Daniel Murray, in the prospectus of his forthcoming "Encyclopedia of the Negro Race," says:

Four men of color have been decorated by English sovereigns, the last in 1908 by His Majesty King Edward VII. The first was Edward Jordan of Jamaica, then Judge Conrad Reeves of Barbadoes, next Samuel Lewis of Sierra Leone, and now Mr. Thomas of the same place.

James Jonathan Thomas, son of the late James and Jane Thomas of Sierra Leone, West Africa, was born July 22, 1850, at Freetown. His first wife was Patience, daughter of Mr. Thomas Joe, merchant of Lagos, his second wife Rhoda, daughter of Mr. Abraham Hebrom, merchant of Sierra Leone. The American Commissioners, Messrs. Sale and Falkner, sent to Liberia by President W. H. Taft in the summer of 1909, visited also Freetown, Sierra Leone, and there met Sir James J. Thomas. The following from the *West African World* is interesting:

October 29, 1908, a number of friends and admirers of Sir James, wishing to commemorate the mark of Royal favor evidenced by his

decoration by His Majesty, King Edward VII of England, as "Companion of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George," tendered him a banquet at one of the leading hotels in Sierra Leone. It was attended by the foremost business and professional men in the Colony. Among those who extended congratulations to Sir Knight Thomas was Sir Alfred Lewis Jones, the famous ship owner, the unflinching friend of West Africa and her people, whose vessels dot every ocean and trade with every clime.

The policy of the English government to treat all of its subjects with Christian fairness, cannot but awaken sentiments of admiration in the hearts of all Christian peoples towards such noble examples of concrete justice. The idea of a Christian nation discriminating against its own subjects on the score of a difference of color is a monstrous perversion of common decency. Sir James is a justice of the peace and since 1893 a member of the legislative councils of Sierra Leone and Lagos. He was formerly a merchant at Lagos and commissioner for that colony to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at London in 1886. Member of the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Colonial Institute and the Royal Society of Arts. Member of the National Liberal Club of London.

#### NO COLOR LINE IN FRANCE.

(Paris Correspondent *New York Sun*.)

The French take a very different view of the Negro than do Americans, as is shown by the action of the French press recently in congratulating M. Delcasse, minister of marine, for promoting to the grade of captain a Negro of the name of Mortemol.

Mortemol was born in Guadeloupe and he entered the navy just after being graduated from the *École polytechnique*. His comrades received him well and he rose rapidly, so that it is now predicted that in the near future he will be permitted to fly from the masthead of his ship the pennant bearing the two stars of the admiral. No similar situation exists throughout Europe and the Parisian press takes this opportunity to point out that only in France does there exist the equality of races which should be the case the world over.

#### BLUMENBACH'S TRIBUTE TO THE NEGRO.

As a fitting close to this chapter, I will quote from Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's *Anthropological Treatises*, published by Longmans, Green, Longmans, Roberts & Green, London, 1865. In "Contributions to Natural History," on pages 308-312, Part I, Blumenbach says:

At the same time it will not be at all superfluous to point out here some not so well-known though remarkable examples of the perfectibility of the mental faculties and the talents of the Negro, which of course will not come unexpectedly upon any one who has perused the

accounts of the most credible travelers, about the natural disposition of the Negro. Thus the classical Barbot, in his great work on Guinea, expresses himself as follows: "The blacks have for the most part head and understanding enough; they comprehend easily and correctly, and their memory is of a tenacity almost incomprehensible; for even when they can neither read nor write, they still remain in their place amidst the greatest bustle of business and traffic, and seldom go wrong."

With respect to their talents for music, there is no necessity for me to call attention to the instances in which Negroes have earned so much by them in America, that they have been able to purchase their freedom for large sums, since there is no want of examples in Europe itself of blacks who have shown themselves true virtuosos. The Negro Freidig was well known in Vienna as a masterly concertist on the viol and the violin, and also as a capital draughtsman, who had educated himself at the academy there under Schmutzer. As examples of the capacity of the Negro for mathematical and physical sciences, I need only mention the Russian colonel of artillery, Hannibal, and the Negro L'Islet of the Isle of France, who on account of his superior meteorological observations and trigonometrical measurements was appointed their correspondent by the Paris Academy of Sciences. . . .

I possess some annuals of a Philadelphia calendar, which a Negro there, Benj. Bannaker, had calculated, who had acquired his astronomical knowledge without oral instruction, entirely through private study of Ferguson's works, and our Tob. Mayer's tables, &c. Boerhaave, de Haen, and Dr. Rush have given the most decided proofs of the uncommon insight which Negroes have into practical medicine. Negroes have also been known to make very excellent surgeons. And the beautiful Negress of Yverdum, whom I mentioned, is known far and wide in French Switzerland as an excellent midwife, of sound skill, and of a delicate and well-experienced hand. I omit the Wesleyan Methodist preacher, Madox, and also the two Negroes who lately died in London, Ignatius Sancho and Gustavus Vasa, of whom the former, a great favorite both of Garrick and Sterne, was known to me by correspondence; and the latter, whom I knew personally, has made himself a name by his interesting autobiography; and also many other Negroes and Negresses who have distinguished themselves by their talents for poetry. I possess English, Dutch and Latin poems by several of these latter, amongst which, however, above all, those of Phillis Wheatley of Boston, who is justly famous for them, deserves mention here.

There are still two Negroes who have got some reputation as authors, and whose works I possess, whom I may mention. Our Hollmann, when he was still professor at Wittenberg, created in 1734 the Negro Ant. Wilh. Amo, Doctor of Philosophy. He had shown great merit both in writing and teaching; and I have two treatises by him, of which one especially shows a most unexpected and well-digested course of reading in the best physiological works of that day. In an account of Amo's

life, which on that occasion was printed in the name of the University Senate, great praise is allotted to his exceptional uprightness, his capacity, his industry, and his learning. It says of his philosophical lectures: "He studied the opinions both of the ancients and moderns; he selected the best, and explained his selections clearly and at full length." It was in his fortieth year that the Negro Jac. Elisa Capitein studied theology at Leyden; he had been kidnapped when a boy of eight years old, and was bought by a slave-dealer at St. Andrew's River, and got to Holland in this way at third-hand. I have several sermons and poems by him, which I will leave to their own merits; but more interesting and more famous is his *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute libertati Christianae non contraria*, which he read publicly on the 10th of March, 1742, in Leyden, and of which I have a translation in Dutch, of which again four editions were struck off, one immediately after the other. Upon this he was ordained preacher at Amsterdam in the Church d'Elmina, whither he soon afterwards departed. Professor Brugmans of Leyden, who procured for me the writings of this ordained Negro, sends me word also that according to the circumstances there are two stories about his fate there; either namely that he was murdered, or that he went back to his own savage countrymen, and exchanged their superstitions and mode of life for what he had learned in Europe. . . .

Finally, I am of opinion that after all these numerous instances I have brought together of Negroes of capacity, it would not be difficult to mention entire well-known provinces of Europe, from out of which you would not easily expect to obtain off-hand such authors, poets, philosophers, and correspondents of the Paris Academy; and on the other hand, there is no so-called savage nation known under the sun which has so much distinguished itself by such examples of perfectibility and original capacity for scientific culture, and thereby attached itself so closely to the most civilized nations of the earth, as the Negro.

Foot Note.—Calcagero, in "Poetas de Color," Habana, 1887 (5th ed.), says of the poet Heredia: "Severiano de Heredia, of the same race as Placido, an honor to French literature."

Gonzalo de Quesada, former Cuban Minister at Washington, on January 25, 1906, in a letter to the editor of the *New York Sun*, says: "Cuba can point with pride to the martyr poet, Placido, who gave his life for his fellowmen; to such artists as White, who wrested prizes at Paris from the best painters; to Juan Gualberto Gomez, a journalist and politician of high ideals; to Morna Delgado, a literary man, a student and a senator, who presides as *pro tempore* chairman of the Senate at Havana; and who can ever forget that in the annals of epic feats the heroic mulatto, General Antonio Maceo, enjoys everlasting glory?"

## PART V.

SOME MEN OF COLOR WHO ARE DOING  
BIG THINGS.





## CHAPTER XLV.

*Some Men of Color who are Doing Big Things and Making History—Thomas Walker, Judge E. M. Hewlett, Dr. I. N. Porter, J. E. Bruce, George Washington Forbes, Professor John Wesley Cromwell, Dr. W. Bishop Johnson, William Stanley Braithwaite, Henry M. Tanner, Professor William H. H. Hart.*

I have met Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and other self-made men of the race; but I believe that Lawyer Thomas Walker of Washington is as fine a specimen of the self-made men as the Negro race has yet produced, perhaps the finest specimen. He is handsome in person and gracious in manner. He was born a slave in Alabama about 1850, and was reared on one of the aristocratic plantations of Alabama. Being house servant for an old Southern family in his teens, he assimilated and absorbed the best traditions of the Southern aristocracy, and soon became a chivalric and high-spirited gentleman. Mr. Walker was born on Colonel Samuel M. Hill's plantation at Cahaba, Dallas County, about sixteen miles from Selma, Ala. Colonel Hill was worth over half a million dollars, an immense fortune in those days, and his plantation stretched over several thousand acres of land. Colonel Hill was an aristocrat of the old school and young Walker, as a boy, saw the representatives of the best aristocracy of the South entertained as guests on that plantation, and they made an indelible impression upon his plastic mind and filled him with high ideals of life and duty. He was forced to paddle his own canoe from the time he was fifteen years of age. He remained on Colonel Hill's plantation until he was fifteen years old, when he went to Selma, Ala., and worked for Yankee soldiers at two dollars a month. He was then waiter in a hotel and in the spring of 1866 served in the family of Mr. R. C. Goodrich, a cotton commission merchant, where he saw such noted men as Bishop I. N. Andrews of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who, with Dr. Olin of Middletown, Conn., separated the Methodist Church, North and South, on the slavery

question; John W. Tapsley, the famous railroad promoter; Hon. B. M. Woolsey and other distinguished men. In the fall of 1866, he spent four weeks in the night school of Mr. Joseph H. Sears, a Yale graduate. And this was the only public school education young Walker ever received.

He and a few other colored boys were taught the alphabet by a kind-hearted, religiously-disposed white boy named George H. Craig, youngest son of a wealthy and distinguished family at Caheba. Young Craig achieved distinction in his four years' service as a youthful Confederate officer in the great Civil War, returning home at the close, still a beardless youth. Since the war, he has served on the bench twelve years, in Congress four years, United States Senate two years, and has repeatedly declined the nomination for governor, tendered him by acclamation. After the lapse of more than half a century, Mr. Walker still retains the good will and friendly interest of this remarkable and distinguished Southern gentleman.

Walker went back to the plantation in 1867, where he remained until January, 1869, as a body servant for Colonel Samuel M. Hill, his old master, who, he says, was one of the wisest, most considerate and kindly men it has ever been his fortune to know. On recommendation of Mr. Goodrich, in 1869 and 1870, he waited on Mr. M. J. Williams, editor of *Selma Times*.

In 1871 he put in an apprenticeship as carpenter. In his twenty-first year, young Walker entered politics and soon won a reputation as a political orator. He was elected to the state legislature when only twenty-one years of age. In 1874, when only twenty-four, he was elected a clerk of the Dallas County Circuit Court. He qualified under an official bond of \$10,000 for the faithful performance of duty. Dr. J. H. Henry and Dr. Robert Morsely went on his bond. That he had won the confidence and esteem of the leading men of the community at that early age testifies to his sterling qualities. In 1875 Mr. Walker started a grocery store and soon had established a large business. He taught school in Arkansas from 1879 to 1881 and came to Washington in 1882. He was appointed to a government clerkship and studied law in Howard University while in the government service. In 1892 he began to devote himself to the practice of law and is now one of the richest and most successful

colored lawyers in the District of Columbia. He does a great deal of business in connection with Attorney J. N. Bundy, formerly member of the board of education. They have taught their clients the fundamental and basic principles of business and political economy. As a business man of rare sanity of judgment, uncommon good sense and integrity of character, Mr. Walker had so impressed the Washington bar that he with Lawyer Joseph H. Stewart were appointed receivers when the Capitol Savings Bank failed in the fall and winter of 1902.

Had Mr. Walker done nothing else but rise from a humble to a commanding position in life, his career would have been remarkable. But what is unusual for a self-made man (for most self-made men despise literature), he is a man of literary tastes and aspirations and is a lover of the fine arts. He admires Gray, Goldsmith, Macaulay and Dickens, and has mastered Buckle's "History of Civilization." I have often enjoyed hearing him discourse of the beauties of Gray, Goldsmith, Dickens and Thackeray, compare and contrast Macaulay with Carlyle and discuss Buckle's philosophy of history.

Attorney Walker has been quite a philanthropist. He married Miss Annie E. Anderson of Brooklyn, N. Y., youngest daughter of Francis and Nancy Anderson of Flatbush, L. I. He has personally helped some of his poor clients and has wisely invested money for them. He has aided one Southern aristocrat, who befriended him in his youth. He has spent over \$5,000 in educating six nephews and four nieces in Tuskegee, Talladega, Selma, Kowaliga, and the graded and high schools of Washington, D. C., one of whom, Miss Fayette Walker, was formerly a teacher in the Washington schools. He gave his wife, an accomplished artist, a four years' course in the Woman's Art School of Cooper Union, New York. The audience was enthusiastic when she received her certificate. She then studied art in Paris for fifteen months. She made a petite pastelle, called "The Little Parisian." It was exhibited in the Salon of Paris the same year as Tanner's "Lion Den" was exhibited, for which he received honorable mention. That was in 1896. A jury passed on the works before they were accepted. So we may sum up Lawyer Walker's career by saying that he is a lover of all that goes to make a noble and chivalric manhood.

JUDGE E. M. HEWLETT.

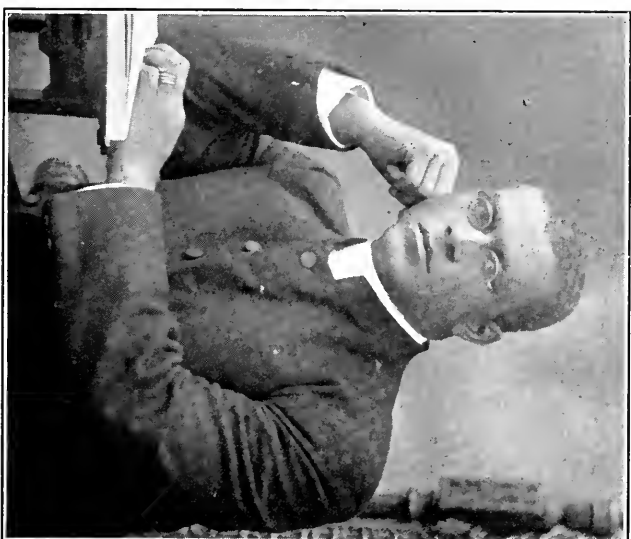
But the account of Walker would be incomplete without an account of a friend who has won the highest honors in the legal profession in Washington. I refer to the bold, intrepid, lion-hearted E. Molyneaux Hewlett, who, with Robert H. Terrell, was appointed justice of the peace, at a salary of \$2,500 a year, when ten justices of the peace were appointed to have jurisdiction, in their respective districts, of all civil cases which did not involve over \$300. Judge Hewlett's father was a man of herculean size and strength and for many years was the popular gymnastic and boxing instructor of Harvard University. Although short of stature, Judge Hewlett was broad-shouldered and powerfully built, and inherited his father's great strength, and possessed an agility that was remarkable. One evening, he and his brother were insulted by a gang of white ruffians on a Boston street car. They knocked the ruffians down right and left and cleaned out the car. The driver and conductor fled in terror and Hewlett and his brother drove the car in safety to the car barn. Had young Hewlett entered the ring he would have become as famous as Molyneaux, Peter Jackson, Sam Langford, Joe Wolcott, Joe Gans and Dixon. But Hewlett had higher ambitions.

He graduated from the Boston University Law School in the early eighties, came to Washington and hung out his shingle. Bold and fearless as a lion, tireless in energy as a Trojan; dignified in his manner of presenting his case, calm and deliberate in debate and fiery and impassioned in his appeals, Hewlett rapidly forged to the front as a lawyer, won his spurs, successfully carried several cases to the Supreme Court and soon became a respected and honored member of the Washington bar.

But his greatest service to his race was rendered when he caused two proprietors of the City Hall Restaurant to be removed from the City Hall, because they insisted upon serving colored lawyers in the counter room and refused to serve them in the room set apart for the members of the bar, where men could sit at tables. In a community where automatons are preferred in the government service and school system, Hewlett has been a man of initiative and individuality and that is his crowning title to fame. Even in Washington, D. C., Hewlett has been true to his Boston traditions and Boston ideals.



HON. E. MOLYNEUX HEWLETT  
(Municipal Judge in the District of Columbia  
from 1899 to 1903)



REV. CHARLES DOUGLASS MARTIN  
of New York City (who played on the cricket club of Antigua,  
W. A., of which the English Governor and Attorney  
General were members)



## DR. I. N. PORTER.

No class of colored professional men have been more successful than the physicians. There are a score or two, like Dr. Garland and Dr. B. J. Robinson of Boston; Dr. E. D. Osborn of New Bedford, Mass.; Dr. Elbert of Wilmington, Del.; Dr. York Russell and Dr. E. P. Roberts of New York; Dr. Owen M. Waller and Rev. Dr. F. M. Jacobs of Brooklyn; Dr. Curtiss of Washington, D. C.; Dr. William Fletcher Penn of Atlanta, Ga.; Dr. Hills and Dr. Smalls of Jacksonville, Fla., who have a large and lucrative practice. And Dr. Hills' practice reaches far beyond the limits of Jacksonville. Dr. N. F. Mozell of Philadelphia has a well-equipped hospital called the Douglass Memorial Hospital. Dr. Curtiss, Dr. Warfield and Dr. Brooks of Washington, D. C., have done excellent work as surgeons.

But we have produced four physicians whose success has been phenomenal. They are Dr. Daniel L. Williams of Chicago, the surgeon; Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland of Newport, R. I., the X-ray specialist; Dr. York Russell of New York, brilliant as a physician, scholar and orator, and Dr. I. N. Porter of New Haven, Conn., who unquestionably has a larger white practice than any colored physician in America has ever had, as more than ninety per cent. of the patients that he treats every day are Caucasians.

Dr. I. N. Porter was born at Summer Bridge, Del., shortly after the time of General Lee's surrender. His father, Isaac Porter, and his grandfather, Jesse Porter, were respected farmers of Delaware. His being reared in the country is one of the reasons why Dr. Porter has been so eminently practical and resourceful.

His mother's father was an African prince, who was born in Tunis, Algeria. This may possibly account for his innate manliness of character.

He studied in the public schools of Chester, Pa., and then took the preparatory and college course at Lincoln University, Pa., the Presbyterian college which has produced a number of eminent educators and clergymen, like Dr. F. J. Grimke, Hon. Archibald Grimke, J. C. Price, Dr. Thomas B. Miller, Dr. William H. Goler, Dr. William Decker Johnson, Dr. Walter Brooks and Dr. William H. Creditt.

Dr. Porter distinguished himself in the classics, mathematics, literature and philosophy.

In the fall of 1890 he entered the Yale Medical School, working his way through by carving, in the New Haven House. He made a splendid record in the Medical School, and Dr. Carmalt, the eye specialist, at the banquet of the graduating class stated that Dr. Porter was better qualified to practice medicine than any member of his class.

Dr. Porter hung out his shingle in the winter of 1894 in New Haven. His success was not phenomenal at first. But he equipped himself with a splendid medical library, attended Professor George Trumbull Ladd's public lectures in philosophy, read Amiel's Journal and was growing intellectually.

In the fall of 1896, the Ninth Ward caucus was held to elect councilmen and an alderman. Two colored men, Robert H. Bonner, a graduate of the Yale Art School, and Dr. I. N. Porter, and one white man were put in nomination. Neither candidate could muster enough votes to win out. Some of the colored voters cried out, "You ought to give us a colored man." Then Dr. Porter arose and said, "Don't elect me because I am black; but because I am a man." That caught the audience. The other two candidates retired in his favor and Dr. Porter was unanimously elected and made a good record as a member of the Common Council.

He numbers among his patients some of the wealthiest families of New Haven.

In 1907, he married Miss G. C. Ward of St. Joseph, Mich., an accomplished and cultured lady, whose brother is a lawyer in Chicago. In diagnosis Dr. Porter's judgment is quick and unerring; in deciding what to do, he thinks quickly; in meeting unforeseen developments, his resourcefulness is wonderful; and in surgery his eye is keen, his hand and arm steady and firm. It has been a marvel that he could treat so many cases successfully in one day. In a word, he is a genius.

J. E. BRUCE, ESQ., OF YONKERS, N. Y., PRESIDENT OF THE NEGRO SOCIETY FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

We have produced in America two writers for the press who gained a national reputation. I refer to T. Thomas Fortune, founder and former editor of the *New York Age*, and to Mr.



J. E. Bruce of Yonkers, N. Y. Mr. Fortune started his career under a blaze of glory, made the *New York Age* the most brilliant Negro newspaper in the world, was a weekly contributor to the *New York Sun*, under the elder Dana; addressed a big political meeting in the Wigwam on Sperry Street, in New Haven, in the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884; was the orator of the day at the Tyler City camp meeting near New Haven, Conn., in August, 1890, and began his address on liberty by saying "My right ceases where your right begins." He was the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Afro-American Council at its famous meeting in Washington, D. C., in January, 1899, and was reelected president at the stormy session in Louisville, Ky., in July, 1903. For nearly a score of years he was the most gifted editor and one of the most brilliant champions of the civil and political rights of the Negro. Born in Florida, with Anglo-Saxon, French, Indian and Negro blood coursing through his veins, he possessed, like Langston, dash, brilliancy, vivacity and courage.

At first he was an independent in politics; a bold, a fearless race champion; but in January, 1899, he began to lend the weight of his powerful paper to booming Dr. Washington. Gradually he lost his independence of utterance, and consequently his influence. Finally, in December, 1907, he sold his interests in the *Age* to a syndicate; Mr. Frederick R. Moore, editor of the *Colored American Magazine*, became the editor. Since Fortune's retirement from the *New York Age*, as editor-in-chief, the editorials have lost the sparkle and scintillating brilliancy that characterized them when Fortune's terse and trenchant style made him both an admired and dreaded writer.

Mr. Fortune is still one of the associate editors of the *Age* and is now living in a cozy home in Redbank, N. J., now and then venturing forth from his retirement to write for the press.

But in Mr. J. E. Bruce of Yonkers, N. Y., we have a gentleman, who, under the pseudonym of "Bruce Grit," for a quarter of a century contributed articles to the leading white and colored journals of the country that were characterized by independence and fearlessness of thought, keen analysis, striking metaphors, and a racy and vigorous style. He is doing what he can to help give the right direction to the thought and policy which should

govern and control the Negro in this land. Now he is endeavoring to inject a little pride of race in those of our brethren who doubt by holding the Negro up and showing that he is really somebody. For this purpose he has organized the Negro Society for Historical Research, which has corresponding members in the West Indies, England, Scotland and Africa.

He was born a slave in the State of Maryland, in the village of Piscataway, February 22, 1856. His father was sold into slavery soon after his birth. His mother ran away from slavery with her two children; one of them, Bruce's brother, died young, one year before the outbreak of the Civil War. She went to Washington, D. C., and was lost, until the excitement was over and hostilities began; then she went to work with less fear and trepidation.

J. E. Bruce never had the advantages of a school education, but, like Topsy, "just growed." That he should have developed into such a brilliant writer and into such a broad-gauged thinker is truly remarkable.

His mother was a first-class cook, and young Bruce usually worked where she did for his board and keep and whatever extra he could earn. He was always ambitious to learn and there were in those days kind-hearted Northerners who took a friendly interest in black boys and girls who were willing to learn. He learned to read quite early in life, and to write a little, but he never had a lesson in penmanship. In his twentieth year, he found himself writing pieces for the press of both races. He was Washington correspondent for the *Richmond Star* and wrote under the nom de plume of "Rising Sun." This was in the seventies. He subsequently became a publisher and issued the following weeklies: *The Argus*, Washington, D. C., 1874, Charles N. Otey, editor, J. E. Bruce, associate editor; *Sunday Item*, 1880, J. E. Bruce, editor, Washington, D. C.; *The Republican*, 1882, J. E. Bruce, editor, Norfolk, Va.; *Grit*, 1884, J. E. Bruce, editor, Washington, D. C.; *The Commonwealth*, Baltimore, Md., 1885. As a writer for the press he has always been bold, fearless, intrepid; has never worshipped the golden calf nor bowed before the Baal of materialism.

For thirty years he has been a general newspaper correspondent and has furnished news letters to more than one hundred

weekly papers under the name of "Bruce Grit"; has been a paid contributor to the *Boston Transcript*, *Albany Argus*, *Buffalo Express*, *Washington (D. C.) Sunday Gazette* and *Sunday Republic*. He is a member of the African Society, England, made so on the motion of Count de Cardi, its honorary secretary, five years ago. He was, on the recommendation of Hon. J. J. Dossen, then vice president of Liberia, who with his delegation he entertained at his home, made a Knight of the Order of African Redemption by President Barclay. He has a book in his library with pictures of all the presidents of Liberia, and he has a great many pictures of noted Africans.

One of the memorable events of my life was the reception tendered to the Liberian legation by Mr. Bruce at his home in Yonkers in July, 1908. An audience representing the eastern section of New York assembled that evening. Dr. York Russell was the brilliant, eloquent and tactful master of ceremonies, and ex-President Gibson of Liberia spoke. But the event of the evening was the address of Hon. James J. Dossen, vice president of Liberia. Tall, stalwart, erect and manly, he was the embodiment of force and power and seemed a giant in bronze. As he eloquently pictured the future of Africa, I saw in him a realization of the possibilities of the native African. I believe he is now president of Liberia College.

I reprint from the *African Times and Orient Review* an account of the Negro Society for Historical Research of which Mr. Bruce is the founder and president:

It was to instruct the race and inspire love and veneration for its men and women of mark that the Negro Society for Historical Research was brought into being. Our principal aim is to teach, enlighten, and instruct our people in Negro history and achievement; to institute a circulating library, a bureau of race information, with a collection of all books, pamphlets, etc., by Negro authors and their friends, together with all data bearing upon race achievements in every form of endeavor. We believe that the race can be made stronger and more united if it can be made to know that it has done great things.

The Negro Society for Historical Research was organized at Sunny Slope Farm, Yonkers, New York, U. S. A., the residence of Mr. John Edward Bruce, April 18, 1911. The officers are:—John Edward Bruce, president; Arthur A. Schomburg, secretary and treasurer; David B. Fulton, librarian; Wm. Wesley Weekes, musical director; Ernest W. Braxton, art director.

The Society has a collection of over three hundred books and pamphlets, among the rarest of which are:—

An autograph copy of Phyllis Wheatley's poems, published London, 1773.

Another copy printed at Walpole, N. H., 1802. A copy of her Letters published at Boston, Mass.

Gustavus Vassa, *The Narrative of His Life*, London, 1793.

Ignatius Sancho, "Letters," First Edition, London, 1782, two volumes.

Paul Cuffe, "Brief Account of Sierra Leone," N. Y., 1812.

Paul Cuffe, "His Life," 1822.

J. W. C. Pennington, "Origin and History of the Colored People," 1841.

Frederick Douglass, "Autobiography," 1845.

J. M. Whitfield, "Poems," 1846.

William Wells Brown, "Clotel," "Narrative of a Fugitive," "Three Years in Europe," "Rising Sun," "Black Man."

Martin R. Delaney, "Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States," 1852.

William C. Nell, "The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution," Boston, 1855.

Frances E. W. Harper, "Miscellaneous Poems," Boston, 1854. "Iola Leroy" (novel).

Samuel R. Ward, "Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave," London, 1855.

Josiah Henson, "Father Henson's Story," Boston, 1858.

Poems of Isley Walden, the Blind Poet of North Carolina.

Genesis, in Grebo Tongue, by Rev. J. Payne, formerly the property of Mrs. Rossetta Douglass Sprague.

The unpublished autograph letters and sermons of Alexander Crummell, the immortal champion of his race at home and abroad, presented to the Society by Mrs. Hayson of Washington, D. C.

Alexander Crummell, "The Future of Africa," "Africa and America," and the "Greatness of Christ."

Rev. Edward Wilmot Blyden, "Liberia's Offering," "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race," and other books and pamphlets by him.

W. T. Catto, "History of the Presbyterian Movement," Phila., 1857.

William Douglass, "Annals of St. Thomas's First African Church," 1862.

Paul L. Dunbar, his Poems and Prose.

Dr. J. McCune Smith, "Lecture on the Haytian Revolutions," etc., New York, 1841.

Bishop Holley, "Vindication of the Capacity of the Negro Race, etc.," New Haven, 1857.

Negroes' Memorial, The Abolitionist's Catechism, London, 1825 (white). America Negro Academy. Occasional Papers.

Autograph Letters of Authors. More than forty letters of Negro authors are to be seen at the Society's Room.

Bound Volume Anglo-African Magazine, Edited by Wm. Hamilton, N. Y., 1856.

Collection of Rare African Curios, and Photographs of Noted Africans, etc., etc.

MEMBERSHIP.

- King, Lewanika of Barotseland, Honorary President.  
Prince Lubinda of the Barotse, son of King Lewanika, Hon. Member.  
Prince Akashambatwa of the Barotse, son of King Lewanika, Hon. Member.  
Hon. James J. Dossen, Vice-President of Liberia, Hon. Member.  
\*Hon. Edward W. Blyden, Sierra Leone, W. A., Hon. Member.  
Hon. Casely Hayford, Sekondi, Gold Coast, Africa, Hon. Member.  
Dr. Majola Agbebi, Lagos, West Africa, Hon. Member.  
E. Elliott Durant, Esq., Journalist, Barbadoes, W. I., Hon. Member.  
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\*General Evaristo Estenoz, Havana, Cuba, Hon. Member.  
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Prof. Pedro C. Timothee, San Juan, Porto Rico, Corresponding Member.  
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Mrs. Florence A. Bruce, Yonkers, N. Y., Corresponding Member.  
Mrs. Mary Butler, Yonkers, N. Y., Corresponding Member.  
Mrs. Marie Du Chatellier, Bocas del Toro, Panama, Corresponding Member.  
C. Carroll Clark, New York City, Corresponding Member.  
Mr. A. LeRoy Locke, Camden, New Jersey, Corresponding Member.  
Prof. J. S. Moore, Bahia, Brazil, Corresponding Member.  
Thomas I. Peregrino, Esq., Capetown, S. A., Corresponding Member.  
Miss Emma Brown, Philadelphia, Pa., Corresponding Member.  
Rev. William Forde, Port Limon, Costa Rica, Corresponding Member.

(\*Deceased.)

James B. Clarke, Esq., New York City, Corresponding Member.  
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 David B. Fulton, New York City, Member.  
 William Wesley Weekes, Brooklyn, N. Y., Member.  
 Ernest W. Braxton, Brooklyn, N. Y., Member.  
 Dr. York Russell, New York City, N. Y., Member.  
 Dr. J. Frank Thorpe, New York City, N. Y., Member.  
 W. P. Dabney, Cincinnati, Ohio, Member.

#### SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

Occasional Paper No. 1.—“Historical Research,” by Dr. York Russell.  
 No. 2.—“A Plea for Social Justice for the Black Woman,” by David B. Fulton, Esq.

(Copies of which may be obtained on application to the Secretary of the Society, Mr. A. A. Schomburg, 63 W. 140th Street, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.)

Since the organization of the Society it has been addressed by quite a number of men of prominence, among whom was Dr. J. H. Reed of Monrovia, Liberia, President of College, Liberia.

#### ARTHUR ALFONSO SCHOMBURG.

We must also say a word regarding Mr. Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, the secretary of the Negro Society for Historical Research, whose library, including ancient and modern works regarding the African, Haytien, West Indian and American Negro, contains a rich mine of information, and has been of invaluable assistance to me in preparing my book.

His library includes books ranging from Leo Africanus's “Africa,” republished in 1632, to English books published during the current year. The collection includes “The Happy Slave,” published in 1630; an autograph copy of Phyllis Wheatley's original poems, a racial MSS. dedicated to Henry Highland Garnett by the Rev. Alexander Crummell and read before the literary society in New York City, the Hamilton Lyceum, on July 4, 1844, and many odd and antiquated works now out of print. Mr.

Jack Thorne wrote an interesting account of the life of Mr. Schomburg for the *Pioneer Press*, September 14, 1912. I will quote the article in part:

Mr. Schomburg was born in St. Juan, Porto Rico, January the 24th, 1874. His parents were Charles and Mary Joseph Schomburg of the well-known family of Nicholas Joseph of the island of St. Croix, D. W. I. Graduating from the grammar school in 1887, he entered the Institute of Popular Instruction in 1888, afterwards mastering the printer's trade.

Mr. Schomburg came to New York in 1891 and was one of the founders of the first Revolutionary Circle, formed for the purpose of furthering the cause of Cuban and Porto Rican freedom. This movement was inaugurated in the home of the author Rafael Serra in West Third Street.

The subject of this sketch read law five years in the offices of Pryor, Melliss and Harris. He has taken an active part in literary work and a meagre part in the political affairs of New York City. He is a forceful, concise and instructive writer, and under the nom de plume of "Guarionex" has contributed extensively to the daily newspapers of the city.

Mr. Schomburg has been for a number of years in the employ of the Bankers Trust Company, and is now head of the mailing department. The Bankers Trust Company is the largest institution of its kind in the world.

Arthur A. Schomburg is a jovial and genial host, a delightful guest, an ardent lover of literature, and a keen and resourceful debater. To get acquainted with Arthur A. Schomburg is to honor and esteem him—to know him is to love him.

JACK THORNE.

New York City, N. Y.

Mr. Schomburg has written an account of Juan Latino, which appears in this book and an interesting pamphlet upon Placido, which I regret lack of space prevents my republishing.

GEORGE W. FORBES.

Mr. George Washington Forbes of the West End Branch of the Boston Public Library is preparing a work which will make a notable contribution to Negro literature. It is entitled "The Pen and Voice Achievements of the Negro in Poetry and Prose." Part of the chapter upon Samuel Ringo Ward and Frederick Douglass appeared in the Sunday edition of the Springfield

FOOT NOTE.—The gentleman who writes under the nom de plume of Jack Thorne is Mr. David B. Fulton.

*Republican* on February 13. It was an illustrated article, which covered more than an entire page. Judging from that article the book will be saturated with scholarship and replete with worldly wisdom.

Mr. Forbes was born in Mississippi after the close of the war. His parents were untutored but were moral and religious. Young Forbes worked in the brickyards and farms of Mississippi. But he looked long and lovingly at the North Star and heard its beckoning call, came north and found friends in Mr. and Mrs. Mungin of Smith Court, who assisted many struggling students. Forbes worked in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, studied and saved his money. He entered Amherst College and received his A.B. degree in 1891. Both of his colored classmates attained renown. Sherman W. Jackson married a talented sculptress, received the A.B. and LL.B. degrees from the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., was appointed teacher of mathematics and then principal of the M Street High School, Washington, D. C., but in the summer of 1909, was with Dr. Henry T. Bailey, a Harvard graduate and supervising principal, demoted by the forces in the national capital that have been hostile to colored graduates of New England Colleges and Universities for over a decade. Both of these gentlemen are still doing work in the Washington School System. W. H. Lewis, another of Forbes' colored classmates, became assistant attorney-general under President William H. Taft.

Forbes declined tempting offers to teach in the Southland and decided to remain in Boston, where he could grow and develop intellectually, and would not be compelled to stultify his individuality. For five years he edited the *Boston Courant*, and under the pseudonym of "Argus, the hundred eyes," saw everything and wielded the Damascus blade of sarcasm.

In the summer of 1897 he was appointed assistant librarian in the West End Branch of the Boston Public Library, which position he has held ever since. In the fall of 1901 he edited the *Boston Guardian* in connection with William Monroe Trotter. His scintillating editorials and keen blade of sarcasm made the paper famous at once. He was the first man in the country to take the measure of the Tuskegee wizard. He retired from the editorship of the paper in the fall of 1904. Since then he has written occasionally for the *Boston Transcript* and the



Springfield *Republican* and is at present book reviewer of the A. M. E. Church *Review* of Philadelphia, of which Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, the peerless orator, is editor. In December, 1900, he married Miss Elizabeth Harley of Kingston, N. Y., a capable stenographer and talented musician.

PROFESSOR JOHN WESLEY CROMWELL.

Professor John Wesley Cromwell, one of the early graduates of the Institute for the Colored Youth (formerly located in Philadelphia, Pa.), who for over a quarter of a century has been prominently identified with the educational, literary, religious and civic life of the national capital, who since its organization in March, 1897, has been secretary of the American Negro Academy, has just written a book upon "The Negro in American History," which will be published. Professor Cromwell preéminently blends scholarship with common sense, is a man of upright character and high ethical ideals. He has exerted a wholesome influence not only upon the intellectual but upon the moral life of the colored people of America.

After giving a broad survey of the history of America, from its discovery and settlement, through emancipation and Civil War citizenship, the work includes detailed biographical sketches of fifteen colored men and women, eminent in widely different fields of endeavor. Noted colored educators have written in flattering terms of Professor Cromwell's forthcoming book.

Professor John Wesley Cromwell was born September 5, 1846, at Portsmouth, Va. In 1851, his father, having obtained the freedom of his family, moved to West Philadelphia. Young Cromwell attended the public schools of the city from 1851 to 1856, when he entered the Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, of which Professor Ebenezer D. Bassett was principal. He graduated in the summer of 1864 and for eight years had a varied and interesting career as a teacher in Philadelphia and Virginia and as a political leader in Virginia.

In the fall of 1872 he went to Washington, D. C., which he has made the scene of his life work. In March, 1874, he graduated from the law department of Howard University and was admitted to the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia upon motion of Hon. A. G. Riddle. As a scholar and educator in the

National capital, Professor Cromwell has scored triumph after triumph.

In 1875 he was elected first president of the Virginia Educational Historical Association and served for the eight years that it was organized.

The *Sunday School Times* of Philadelphia, August 29, 1875, said of Professor Cromwell's opening address: "This address has been highly commended for its strong common sense and original ideas and the clearness with which they were expressed."

In 1876 he edited the *Peoples Advocate* in Alexandria, Va. The following year it was removed to Washington, D. C. The intellectual and moral tone of the paper was very high.

His address as alumni orator at the Institute for the Colored Youth in Philadelphia caused the *Sunday Times* on July 1, 1883, to say among other things: "His address proclaimed him to be a man well booked in the issues of the day and his fund of knowledge seems inexhaustible. He is a clear, forcible, entertaining speaker and held his audience in wrapt attention."

Hon. B. L. Bruce appointed him as one of the honorary commissioners of the Department of Colored Exhibits in the Cotton Centennial Exhibition at New Orleans.

WILLIAM STANLEY BRAITHWAITE.

In the early fall of 1896, when I first met Dr. Alexander Crummell and Mr. George T. Downing, I met a colored youth whose father was a cultured West Indian, not out of his teens, who was a voracious reader, an ardent lover of poetry, and an enthusiastic admirer of Keats and Shelley. Moonlight nights, we walked up and down the cliffs of Newport, while he recited his favorite passages from Keats and Shelley and went into ecstasies over them. People said that he was a dreamer. Five years later they still said the same thing. He married a Miss Kelley of Baltimore and struggled to support himself and his family by his pen. In the early spring of 1910 I returned to Boston and found that the young man had gained an enviable position among contemporary American poets. That man was William Stanley Braithwaite, who is now the poet laureate of the colored race.

Mr. Braithwaite has published two volumes of poems entitled "Lyrics of Life and Love" and "The House of Falling Leaves."

He has published three anthologies, entitled "The Book of Elizabethan Verse," "The Book of Restoration Verse," and "The Book of Georgian Verse." Every year he studies for the Boston Evening *Transcript* the annual output of poetry in the current magazines. His poetry appears in the various magazines.

While he lived in Boston he was a member of the Authors' Club. He is now living in New York City, doing work for some of the publishers and the magazines. He deserves recognition, because for the past few years he has earned his living solely by his pen.

Wendell Wright, a colored littérateur of Salem, says:

Braithwaite is the only poet we have who has the Elizabethan spirit, who writes with a fine poetic instinct, without any alloy of materialism. He has no peer in the present age of American literature. There is no one I can compare him with. He is fine and subtle and has a pure poetic instinct.

If other poets would drink from the same fount the standard of American poetry would be much higher than it is now.

It is simply marvelous, considering his environment, that a man could produce such pure poetic material in the present transitional condition of American literature. When I read his poetry in the *Transcript* five years ago I was astounded and said, "Can a black man write such stuff?"

It is regrettable that he hasn't a public that he can appeal to as he ought. The time will soon come when he will find a public to which he can appeal. Seldom do we pick up a book of verse that is so free from commercialism and materialism as the book of Braithwaite.

His flight is not high; but the movement is graceful and we must keep our eyes upon the beauty and majesty of his poetic sweep.

I think that in Braithwaite's cullings he could have well been a contributor to this anthology instead of a compiler of it. I would liken him to Beaumont, but Beaumont was a copyist and lacked sincerity. I would liken him to Raleigh, but Raleigh was more aggressive and less subtle. If this age were as chivalric as the Elizabethan, he would have taken his place by the side of Sir Philip Sidney. His poetry is subtle and fine and purely ideal and literary and has no politics and no propagandism. He is purely an artist. He works in the artistic spirit and is an artistic genius.

DR. W. BISHOP JOHNSON.

Rev. William Bishop Johnson, D.D., born in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, December 11, 1858, is a preacher of massive physique, towering intellect, ripe scholarship and indomitable will, whose eloquence at the funerals of Perry Carson in Washington, D. C.,

Dr. Dixon in Brooklyn and at the dedication of a Baptist Church in Washington, D. C., will long be remembered. No preacher or orator in the colored race is more sought after to deliver addresses on big occasions. Then he has been a friend to young men of ambition; but Dr. W. Bishop Johnson may be known to posterity as the founder of the Afro-American School of Correspondence. N. Barnett Dodson of the American Press Association, New York City, says, in part, of the School of Correspondence:

The Afro-American School of Correspondence was organized in Washington in September, 1909, at 818 Third Street, N. W. It was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia as a university. It was organized to reach the great unreached middle class, the man with a need and thirst for a deeper drink from the "Pierian spring of knowledge." . . .

The faculty represents some of the best institutions in America—Harvard, Yale, Howard, Union and Northwestern Universities, Bishop, Bates, Storer and Guadalupe colleges. The president of the corporation is the Hon. Thomas L. Jones, LL.B., Washington, a graduate of Union and Howard Universities, one of the ablest lawyers in the country. The first vice-president is Rev. Holland Powell, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y., a graduate of Wayland Seminary and Union University, an able preacher and successful pastor. The second vice-president is Rev. C. H. Payne, D.D., of West Virginia, graduate of Richmond Theological Institute, American consul to St. Thomas, D. W. I., diplomat, lawyer, educator and preacher.

The secretary and treasurer is Rev. W. Bishop Johnson, D.D., LL.D., once professor of mathematics and political science at Wayland Seminary for twelve years. He is the organizer of the national Baptist educational convention, author of "The Correspondent Student's Arithmetic, Grammar and United States History," "The Scourging of a Race," "Sparks from My Anvil," and "The Story of Negro Baptists." Dr. Johnson is one of the most eloquent orators among Negroes and is thoroughly devoted to his race. He has been pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Washington for twenty-eight years. He enjoys an international reputation as a great educator. He is also president of the New England Baptist Missionary Convention, whose territory consists of the states from Maine to Virginia. Rev. Dr. A. W. Adams, D.D., is the field secretary, a graduate of Storer and Bates colleges, formerly a professor in Storer College, Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

The students number 300 and are found in thirty-four States.

His name is W. Bishop Johnson and he exerts the power of a bishop in the Baptist denomination, as he is constantly called upon to recommend pastors for vacant pulpits.

HENRY O. TANNER.

(From the Charleston (W. Va.) *Advocate*, August 29, 1907.)

For eighteen years Henry O. Tanner has made his home in Paris, where he has a studio and where he holds an enviable position in the world of art of the great French capital. Prior to this he lived in Philadelphia, the city of his first triumphs in his chosen profession and the abiding place of some of his finest works.

In reviewing his career the most remarkable thing about it is the thorough and effective manner in which he has overcome the impediments of race prejudice and carved for himself a place entitling him to rank as one of the greatest painters on either side of the Atlantic.

This place has been won by strenuous and unceasing work, for earnest effort is the keynote of Tanner's character. He has demanded a place in art and won it.

As proof of his ability, his genius and masterly portrayals in oil, it is only necessary to state that he is one of the two living men who have had two famous pictures hung in the famous Luxembourg galleries of Paris. One of these is the "Raising of Lazarus," purchased by the French government a number of years ago.

Another signal recognition of his work was given last fall in Chicago when he was awarded the W. Harris prize of \$500 for the best painting at the exhibition of American painters, held in the art institute. The picture was the "Disciples at the Tomb," showing Peter and Paul, the figures drawn with striking originality. The award to Tanner was unanimous on the part of the art committee.

Tanner now devotes all his energies to the painting of religious subjects, in which he excels. In the earlier part of his art career he painted marine and animal objects, but he has found religious portraiture more to his taste and more in consistence with his genius. So exhaustive and devoted is he in reading up and studying a Biblical subject before he puts brush to canvas, that he has undermined his health and is frail and delicate in constitution.

In his early effort in the line artistic, when he littered up the house with his sketches and painted bad caricatures, when only a mere child, he always received the encouragement of his mother. She was Miss Sarah Miller, a woman of scholarly attainments, particularly in the literary line, and it is due to her care and guidance, in large measure, that his success is attributed. She is still living and was in Pittsburgh last winter.

Tanner's insatiable passion for drawing and painting manifested itself at a very early age. When only fourteen years old one of his pictures was awarded a premium at the juvenile exposition of art held at the Philadelphia centennial in 1876.

After completing a common school education in Philadelphia the boy artist entered the study of his chosen profession with that indefatigable zeal and determination that has characterized his entire career. He

became a pupil of Benjamin Constant and Paulean Lorens, both now distinguished painters in Paris, but then residing in the Quaker City.

Tanner made remarkable progress and soon became a favorite pupil of his tutors. After a while he went to Paris, where he again studied under Constant, and about the same time he made his first tour of the Holy Land, where he executed a great number of sketches, some of which he later worked up into finished pictures. From this period of his life he became more than ever absorbed in religious subjects and formed the decision that he would in the future paint these almost exclusively.

In the opinion of art critics, Tanner's best work is in this line, although he has painted some excellent animal studies, landscapes and marine. One of his earliest works in animal painting is "After Dinner," a splendid picture of a lion licking his paws after a goodly repast of meat. Still another lion picture is the "King of the Desert," after the style of Gérôme, showing a monarch standing erect and fearless amid a barren waste of trackless sand. Following these animal studies the artist painted some marine studies, one of which is here in the home of his aunt, Mrs. Sarah Tanner.

Other noteworthy paintings of this period of Tanner's career are "Deer in the Adirondacks," executed in 1885 and now owned by a wealthy connoisseur of Philadelphia; "A Lesson on the Bagpipe," also bought by a Philadelphian; "Daniel in the Lions' Den," and others. The Adirondack scene is a particularly beautiful one, showing both land and water in charming contrast and the deer are drawn with great fidelity to nature. The bagpipe picture tells a story. A child of the Scotch Highlands is learning with painstaking care to play one of the cumbersome peculiar instruments of that country.

Tanner's pictures are now to be seen in the permanent collections of some of the greatest art galleries of this country and in Europe, and several are possessed by private collectors, who exhibit them with pride as among their choicest paintings. Critics are not agreed as to which of his pictures is the masterpiece of all his works. Some critics favor the "Annunciation," while others declare for the "Raising of Lazarus." The first picture hangs in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and the second hangs in the famous Luxembourg Gallery, Paris, having been bought by the French government.

The "Annunciation" is an original and powerful portrayal of the Virgin as the artist believed she must have looked at that supreme moment. Tanner's originality and fertility of conception is shown by his departure from the traditional manner of treating this subject, for, while Raphael, Botticelli and other great masters depict radiant joy on the face of the Mother of Christ, Tanner has made the scene one of extreme gravity, the Virgin gazing in rapt awe and tenseness at hearing the divine message. The effect of light and shade are considered very fine in this work.

The "Raising of Lazarus" is done in subdued colors and is a striking piece of work. Some critics aver this picture excels the "Annunciation" in treatment and conception.

Another honor conferred on Tanner was the awarding of the Walter Lippincott prize for 1904, at the exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. His pictures are also to be found in the Wilstach Collection, Memorial Hall, in that city. One of his finest paintings, the "Flight Into Egypt," is in Pittsburgh, having been bought in 1899 by a wealthy art lover who has it hung in his private gallery.

Among the other religious subjects painted by the artist are: "Jews Waiting at the Wall of Solomon" and "Stephen Before the Council," the latter painted for the Paris Exposition of 1906. Tanner is a regular exhibitor at the Paris Salon, and in this country his works have been exhibited in all the important art centers. He is a member of the American Art Association and of the Paris Society of American Painters.

REV. CHARLES DOUGLASS MARTIN.

It frequently happens that a single episode lifts a man from the dusk of obscurity to the limelight of fame and reveals to the world the worth of a man of whose existence it had not dreamed.

Such an epochal moment came in the life of Rev. Charles Douglass Martin of New York City on February 23, 1913, when an interview with Mr. Martin appeared in the New York *Sunday World* on "What it Means to be a Negro in New York City." The interview with Henry Hall of the New York *World* occupied an entire page. A large cut of Mr. Martin was published, and the *World* also had an editorial upon the interview.

I regret that lack of space prevents my reproducing the interview. But I will quote the *World's* splendid editorial, "To be a Negro in New York." The *Sunday World* for February 23 said:

The story told on another page of social and industrial conditions surrounding the Negro in New York City is pathetic to the last degree. It tells of an exclusion from practically all save the more menial employments, except as they are confined to the race itself; of a social ostracism which reaches up to embrace the most educated and refined; of a caste system so insidiously powerful that "it takes a man of great strength of character to treat the Negro as a man."

That such a story might be written of the Negro in the chief city of the North fifty years after emancipation could never have entered the heads of the emancipators, who not only made him free but threw around him every possible security of law for his substantial equality with the whites.

It meant nothing for the Rev. Charles Martin to be a Negro in the British West Indies, where his treatment by the whites never made him conscious of his color. But it affects everything dear in life to be a Negro in New York.

Why should it be so? Is an explanation to be found in our multiplicity of white races who have suffered sorely from the oppression of others, and who, in their pride as they work their way along up in the freedom of the Republic, are too apt to forget for others socially weaker what they had justly demanded for themselves.

It may be so, but there is hope for the Negro even here under patience, sobriety, honesty and industry. Many white races with us have been "despised races." No one of them is failing with us to work up into a command of respect from all others. So it can and will be with the Negro.

Rev. Mr. Martin's lucid portrayal of the American caste system in New York City attracted attention and made history for the colored race.

Rev. Charles Douglass Martin was born November 7, 1873, at St. Kitts, British West Indies. He is the pastor and founder of Beth-Tphillah, Fourth Moravian Church, 63 West 134th Street, Harlem, New York. It was begun July 12, 1908, on the 104th anniversary of the death of the immortal Alexander Hamilton of St. Kitts-Nevis. He is the first Negro minister of this faith in the United States. He received his early education in the Moravian School. He entered the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Nisky, St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, in 1891, graduating in 1896. After graduation, he was appointed to the Church at Nisky and was ordained in 1901 in Tobago, B. W. I., after completing a post graduate course. He served as pastor in St. Thomas and St. Croix, D. W. I., and in Tobago and Antigua, B. W. I. He came to America in 1907 on furlough and took courses for that year at Union Theological Seminary. He has been in continuous service in the Moravian Church as minister of the Gospel since 1896. On June 22, 1913, he was raised to the Presbyterate.

In 1906, Rev. Mr. Martin played on the cricket club of Antigua, of which the dignitaries of the State, consisting of the governor of the Island and the attorney general, were members.

In person, Dr. Martin is tall, broad-shouldered and muscular, with a pleasant and kindly but strong and masterful face, with a sweet musical voice and calm, tranquil, self-possessed manner. He owns both a splendid Negro and a splendid theological manner.



PROFESSOR WILLIAM H. H. HART AND THE HART FARM SCHOOL—  
REASONS WHY THE ORIGINAL WORK WAS ABANDONED.

We have given a brief sketch of the life of Professor William H. H. Hart in our chapter on "Colored History-Makers of To-Day," and we will now resume our account.

Tragedy was a famous theme with the Greek poets and dramatists. The struggle of man against fate or society or the gods appealed to them and interested them just as the hopeless struggle of a brave swimmer against an outgoing tide touches the sympathy of us moderns. That is why an eternal interest attaches to the fate of Antigone, Œdipus Tyrannus and Prometheus, the three immortal characters of Greek tragedy. Antigone disobeyed the then existing order of society and gave her brother, who was warring against her father, a decent burial; and she bore the consequences and was killed. Œdipus Tyrannus struggled against fates and unconsciously and unknowingly married his own mother, thus unwittingly he suffered the same fate. Prometheus, the hero of Æschylus's colossal work, defied Zeus, brought down the fire from the heavens and gave it to men. He was chained to a rock and an eagle eternally tore out his heart and vitals.

But we are not compelled to go back to Greek tragedy or to Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" or Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables" for exhibitions of the hopeless struggle in accordance with the moral law of man against the order of society or the reigning powers, for history teems with examples of the same. Christ, the God-man, rebuked the Scribes and Pharisees and was crucified. Socrates did not believe in the Greek gods and the Greek religion; he was forced to drink the hemlock. Savonarola, Huss, Servetus, Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer were burned alive at the stake because they defied the prevailing religion. Sir Thomas More, the creator of a divine dream of the imagination, was beheaded because he defied his king. Greek tragedy, modern fiction, and all history illustrate the fate of those bold reformers and daring spirits who defy the powers that be and tilt against the constituted authorities. Such was the fate of Hart. He was a modern Prometheus and the Zeus that he defied was the District of Columbia; the mortals he wished to help were little black waifs.

It seems that the real cause of the difference of opinion between Professor Hart and the District commissioners and District system of charities was that they did not fully realize that Professor Hart was a constructive and creative genius of the highest order and demanded full scope for the realization of his comprehensive plans. President MacFarland of the Board of District Commissioners partly realized this when he said in the winter of 1903, "Professor Hart is a man of large imagination and fervid eloquence." Now one of the characteristics of a constructive and creative mind is that it cannot be circumscribed but must be given a free rein and must follow the dialectics of its own nature. No man of genius can become a mere automaton. Herder, Lessing and Goethe broke through the conventional restrictions that slavery to French forms imposed upon the German literature and blazed out a new path for that literature. Homer and Shakespeare transcended the literary forms of their day. Hannibal revolutionized ancient, and Napoleon modern warfare. When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon and defeated Pompey, his political genius shaped a new government for Rome. Thus it has always been for a constructive, creative genius, for a fertile, productive and prolific mind; thus it was with Professor Hart. He was endowed by nature with a creative imagination, a comprehensive mind, and big ideas and grand plans were taking shape in his powerful intellect and capacious brain. His methods were unique and novel; but he was not allowed to develop his work as he desired.

It was largely a struggle between Professor Hart and the District system of charities, backed by the District commissioner, to determine whether Professor Hart should have his hands upon the throttle valves of the school, and should be given full sway to develop the work along the unique and novel lines laid down by him, and on the magnificent scale desired by him, or whether he should be an automaton to obey the wish and the will of the constituted District authorities.

The District authorities saw that Professor Hart's ascendancy would curtail their power and clip the wings of their authority. If Professor Hart had won out in his fight against the District authorities, it would have meant that those fifty or sixty black boys and that ten or twelve thousand dollar appropriation would

have been taken away from the District authorities and placed in the hands of Hart, who would be responsible to Congress alone.

The District authorities were human; they saw that if the Hart Farm School was taken out of their hands and exclusively controlled by Professor Hart, who was responsible to Congress alone, a dangerous precedent would be established. A breach in the strong wall of their absolute authority would be made, and the grip of their absolute authority would be broken. Hart's Farm School would be the opening wedge; another man with a fascinating personality might be able to cut loose from them and their exclusive and absolute control of the district affairs and district appropriations. In a word, the Hart Farm School threatened to take away from the District authorities some of their absolute power and they fought it not because they hated Professor Hart personally, but because they feared and dreaded his ascendancy and desired to hold on to the power they already had.

The constituted District authorities put Professor Hart out of the business for the same reason that the Roman senators assassinated Julius Cæsar. Shakespeare makes Cassius say of him, "He doth bestride this narrow world like Colossus." Cæsar had grown so large that he overshadowed the noble Romans. His power reduced them to ciphers and stripped them of their authority. That is also why James G. Blaine's political aspirations were opposed by jealous rivals and why he never became President, and that is why the politicians tried to sidetrack Roosevelt thirteen years ago. Thus it was with Professor Hart. His ascendancy threatened the continued power of the District authorities. Men don't usually waste powder and shot on a fly or train Krupp guns on a little skiff or bombard a canoe with lyddite shells. This is no Utopian dream. In the winter and spring of 1903, the Board of Charities, Board of Children's Guardians and District Commissioners, in fact the entire District government and District System of Charities recommended the abolition of the Hart Farm School, and yet he secured his appropriation from Congress.

How did Professor Hart turn the trick? By the matchless charm of his magnetic eloquence. Professor Hart's unique greatness as an orator, apart from his resourcefulness and versatility,

lies in the fact that he is endowed with that rarest of all gifts, a poetic imagination. When Professor Hart went before the House Committee of the District of Columbia, on a certain Friday morning in February, 1903, he was given fifteen or twenty minutes to deliver his farewell address and preach his own official sermon. But he held that committee for seven and a half hours on Friday and three hours on Saturday. The way he interpreted the law governing the establishment of his school; the way he quoted authorities and endorsers of his work and marshaled the facts and evidence in defense of his institution, stamps him as a master mind.

The House Committee listened to Professor Hart's eloquence; but the House of Representatives turned down his appropriation. Then he went before the Senate Committee. It was impressed by the fervor and eloquence of his plea, and Hart secured his appropriation; the Senate stood by him. The House swung into line. It was the sensation and talk of the hour in March, 1903; it was another case of little David overthrowing Goliath with his sling and five pebbles.

Professor Hart was beginning to loom up in the colossal proportions of a Cæsar or Roosevelt. He was a young giant sent to work revolutions. Unless, like Samson of old, he was shorn of his locks and his strength reduced, he might break the power and authority of the constituted District authorities. They would not have been human if they did not for mutual protection band themselves together to checkmate Professor Hart, just as the European powers united to crush and annihilate Napoleon.

They determined to destroy his farm school, and succeeded in so doing. But they could not destroy the pregnant idea which he had given the world. Before Congress could be induced to withdraw the annual appropriation for the Hart Farm School, the District government was compelled by mandatory law to embody the Hart Farm School idea in a public institution now denominated the Colored Home Industrial School, wholly supported by the government and directly under government administration.

#### CONCLUSION.

Seemingly his experiment, like the Brook Farm experiment, was a failure; but it has expanded into a larger and more mag-

nificent work. He deserves the credit of discovering the method to save the homeless and wayward colored boys of Washington and of prevailing upon the authorities to apply it for the benefit of the neglected children, for whom, prior to Professor Hart's agitation, nothing had been done.

A man is an institution. Emerson in his essay on "Self Reliance" said, "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man; as the Reformation of Luther; Quakerism of Fox; Methodism of Wesley; Abolition of Clarkson." And so the Hart Farm School and its continued ideal, the Colored Home Industrial School, is the lengthened shadow of Professor William H. H. Hart.

And so, likewise, is the Howard University Law School, whose building he erected and whose appropriation he secured from Congress for the maintenance of the professorships and the law library, and to whose students he has expounded the principles of the law and the fundamental political doctrines that underlie the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon race, in a large measure the lengthened shadow of Professor Hart. And so is the case of Hart against the State of Maryland, reported at page 500 in Vol. 100 of the Md. Reports, where the Maryland Jim Crow law was declared unconstitutional for interstate passengers, in its entire measure, the lengthened shadow of Hart, for it is an institution of justice and righteousness.

As this eventful century draws to a close, some historian, descanting upon the forces and factors which have shaped and moulded its thought and life, will glorify the institutions which have impregnated the youth of the land with ideals and fired them with energy and enthusiasm and a passion for service. And the future historian, in extolling the beacon lights of American education, will paint in glorious colors on the dome of the Temple of Fame the name of Mark Hopkins of Williams, McCosh of Princeton, Woolsey and Dwight of Yale, Eliot and Norton of Harvard, William T. Chancellor, the American Herbart, and Henry Barnard and Dr. William T. Harris, United States commissioners of education, and General O. O. Howard. Then, taking fresh inspiration and dipping his brush in the alembic, whence are mixed the colors of the rainbow and the liquid glories of the sunset, side by side with these names he

will portray the splendid Anglo-Saxons who have cast in their lot with the humble black folk and, like the lowly Nazarine, have left the seats of the mighty to uplift the down-trodden and oppressed. In that group the names of Beard, Rankin, Cravath, Ware, Patton, Bumsted and Armstrong will shine out in flaming hues, and glisten when touched by Aurora's rosy light, reflecting back the golden glory and the streaming radiance of the rising sun. Then, just below these names, he will place that of Professor William H. H. Hart, a son of Howard University, who, in the Hart Farm School and Junior Republic for Dependent Children, gave the world a new idea and taught it how to save black waifs and wayward city boys; and instead of receiving the thanks of Congress and a gold medal for great and exceptional public service, was neglected after he had sustained a loss of several thousand dollars and in his old age left destitute and bankrupt, with credit destroyed and a growing family of his own cherished children to rear and educate and launch in the world.

FOOT NOTE.—Daniel Murray, author of the forthcoming "Encyclopædia of the Negro Race," is a scholarly gentleman of means and high character. Mr. J. William Cole says of him: "He enjoys the acquaintance of the most eminent men of this nation, and in his beautiful home (presided over by his wife, a lady of culture and equally high ideals) he dispenses a gracious and generous hospitality."

Mr. Murray has been assistant librarian in the Library of Congress for over thirty years. I have been indebted to him for suggestions which led me to new lines of research. His work will contain a valuable mine of information. But he is coming before the reading public with many contested cases, claiming a Negro strain in many supposed Moors, Arabians, Americans, Englishmen and Frenchmen. And I do not know just how the reading world will dispose of these cases. He intimated in his recent article in the *A. M. E. Church Review* that Leo Africanus was a Negro. But the authorities classify him as a Moor of Arabo-Berber nationality.



PRESIDENT WILLIAM S. SCARBOROUGH, LL.D.,  
of Wilberforce University (Author of a Greek text book, etc.)



THOMAS WALKER, ESQ.,  
of Washington, D. C. (Lawyer, real estate owner)





## CHAPTER XLVI.

*The Three Spiritual Leaders of the American Negro—President William S. Scarborough of Wilberforce University, the Dean of Negro Scholars; Rev. Francis J. Grimke, D.D., of Washington, D. C., the Dean of Negro Preachers and Theologians, and Hon. Archibald H. Grimke, the Dean of Negro Orators and Writers.*

Now we come to three men whose influence upon the intellectual and moral life of the American Negro during the past thirty years has been so powerful that they have the prestige and standing that comes from long and glorious achievement. In 1887, when Rev. William J. Simmons wrote his "Men of Mark," President Scarborough was only thirty-three and Doctor Grimke only thirty-seven, yet President Scarborough had written his "First Lesson in Greek," "The Birds of Aristophanes," and "The Thematic Vowel in the Greek Verb," and Dr. Grimke had made an enviable reputation as a preacher and theologian. Their careers, then published in "The Men of Mark," attracted considerable attention. That was twenty-six years ago. In 1894, at the age of forty-five, Hon. Archibald H. Grimke was appointed United States Minister to San Domingo and became a national figure. Since then, each of the three gentlemen has not only sustained the reputation won and the prestige and standing acquired at that early age, but has added to it.

These gentlemen not only have the rich, intellectual equipment which has enabled them to face critical and cultured white audiences, challenging admiration, but the high character which commands universal respect and esteem, so that we can regard them as the three deans of Negro scholarship and theology. Now, to briefly recapitulate the careers of these three gentlemen.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM SANDERS SCARBOROUGH, M.A., LL.D., PH.D.,  
THE DEAN OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS.

In this age, when the industrial training of the Negro has the right of way, we are tempted to ignore the value of the work of

the intellectual pioneers of the colored race. But during the half century in which the slavery question was dominant in American politics and during the first quarter of a century after the emancipation of the Negro, the intellectual and moral capacity of the Negro was the bone of contention.

Calhoun eloquently voiced this sentiment when he said that if anyone could show him a Negro who could master a Greek grammar, conjugate a Greek verb and solve the problem of Greek roots, he would regard him as a man. As neither he nor the world knew of the achievements of the Negro in other lands, he did not know and the world did not know that one Negro, Juan Latino, was a professor in the chair of grammar in the University of Granada in the sixteenth century, that Amo had written two books on philosophy, and Capitein and Francis Williams elegies in Latin, a century before Calhoun made that remarkable statement. Consequently we can imagine the surprise which burst upon an astonished world when the news was flashed over the wires in 1881, eighteen years after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed, that a Negro professor, not thirty years of age, had written a book entitled "First Lessons in Greek." He sent a copy of his book to John F. Slater of Norwich, Conn., who gave a million dollars to educate the colored race, and received the following reply:

NORWICH, CONNECTICUT, June 28, 1882.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM S. SCARBOROUGH,

*Dear Sir:*—Your book, entitled "First Lessons in Greek," has been duly received by me. If I may hope that what I have tried to do for the promulgation of education among your race should result in any more such publications, I shall feel that my efforts have been amply rewarded.

Very truly yours,

JOHN F. SLATER.

Twenty-five years ago, when I was in my first year in the Hillhouse High School of New Haven, Conn., the names of four colored men were ringing over the country as exponents of the capacity of the colored race for intellectual and practical achievements. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Haytien soldier and statesman; Blyden, the Arabic scholar and authority upon

FOOT NOTE.—Professor Chamberlain says that Latino was professor in the University of Seville.

Mohammedanism; Frederick Douglass, the orator, and Professor Scarborough, the Greek scholar.

It has been the fortune of some colored men like Bridgetower, the English violinist, Samuel Ringo Ward and R. Brown Elliott, the orators, to rise to the height of fame, then gradually drop out of sight and die in comparative obscurity. But not so with President Scarborough. He followed up his first brilliant achievement with other glorious achievements. He wrote another Greek book, read papers upon classical subjects before learned societies; and so impressed the world of scholarship by his intellectual ability, his character as a man, his dignified manners and genial personality, that he was admitted to the membership of nearly a dozen learned societies.

Meanwhile he was impressing his worth as a man and scholar upon Wilberforce University, until he was finally elected president. And as president, he has lifted the intellectual and moral tone of the university, successfully managed its finances, and ably represented it at the Ecumenical Conference in Edinburgh and the Universal Race Congress in London.

The *African Times and Orient Review* of August, 1912, contained the following account of President Scarborough's life:

William Sanders Scarborough, president of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, U. S. A., was born February 16, 1854, in Macon, Bibb County, Ga. He received his early education in his native city before and during the Civil War. In 1869, he entered Atlanta University, where he spent two years in preparation for Yale University, but entered Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, instead, in 1871, and was graduated from the Department of Philosophy and the Arts with the degree of A.B. in 1875. Later he received from his alma mater the degree of M.A. He has since been honored by various colleges with the degrees of Ph.D. and LL.D. He spent a part of the year following graduation from Oberlin Theological Seminary in special study of the Semitic languages and Hellenistic Greek.

In 1877 he was elected head of the classical department in Wilberforce University. In 1881 he published through A. S. Barnes & Co., a Greek text book—"First Lessons in Greek"—the first and only Greek book ever written by a Negro. This book was widely used by both white and colored schools of the country, especially in the North. He has also written a treatise entitled "The Birds of Aristophanes—a Theory of Interpretation," aside from numerous tracts and pamphlets, covering a variety of subjects, classical, archæological, sociological and racial. He has written many papers for various societies to which he belongs, especially the Philological

Society. In 1891 he was transferred to the chair of Hellenistic Greek in Payne Theological Seminary of Wilberforce University upon the opening of this school. In 1897 he was again reëlected as professor of Latin and Greek in the university, and was made vice president of the same. In 1908 he was elected president of Wilberforce University, a position which he now holds.

In 1881 he married Sarah C. Bierce, a lady of high literary attainments, and a writer for many magazines.

President Scarborough has long been a contributor to the press in his country, including the leading magazines. He has been for many years the exegetical editor of the A. M. E. Church Sunday School publications. He is a member of a number of learned societies: American Philological, American Dialect, American Social Science, Archæological Institute of America, American Spelling Reform, American Folk-lore, American Modern Language, American Political and Social Science, the Egyptian Exploration Fund Association, National Geographical Society, American Negro Academy, of which he is first vice president. He has several times been one of the invited orators at Lincoln League Banquet of the State of Ohio. At a conference of the Negro leaders in Columbus, Ohio, he was elected president of the Afro-American State League designed to further the interests of the Negro throughout the country. He was appointed by the governor of Ohio a delegate to the National Conference in St. Louis in the interests of Negro education. He is the only Negro representative on the board of the Lincoln Memorial Association of Ohio, which is presided over by the governor.

He has now in press a volume of his works on the race question. He was a delegate to the Ecumenical Methodist Conference held in London in 1901, representing the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and was in attendance upon the Universal Race Congress in London representing Wilberforce University, of which he is president.

ADDRESS OF DR. W. S. SCARBOROUGH AT THE UNVEILING OF THE  
MONUMENT TO DUNBAR, DAYTON, OHIO, JUNE 26, 1909.

To-day we are gathered here for an unusual purpose. It is not that a memorial to a great citizen is an extraordinary occurrence, for this is almost a daily happening. But it is a remarkable thing that such a gathering should be in memory of a man not only of humble birth, but one of the darker race—one with a sable skin, the badge of the servitude and oppression that have been the Negro's lot for so many years.

But to-day, at this hour, race and color are ignored, and this beautiful city, the Gem City of Ohio, is proud to honor its famous son who has helped to give it fame—to honor him because of his worth, his genius, his work.

The old adage that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country is another instance of the falsity of so many popular sayings; for in this beautiful city, where Paul Laurence Dunbar was reared, where

he made his home and gathered to himself friends, here he is most highly honored, and in this memorial to-day we not only do honor to an individual man of color who has lived and wrought so well as to deserve recognition by his fellows, but we do honor to an entire race, and to mankind regardless of race.

As I consider this splendid tribute to the Negro poet, as I dwell upon the meaning of such an expression of appreciation of his greatness, my heart swells with pride and gratitude that in this day and generation such a thing is possible. And I am more and more convinced that, after all, the possibilities of any race are to be finally determined by the heights reached by its men of intellect, of brain, of genius—men of power who are able to touch the hearts and stir the pulses of the world by their marvelous ability for delineation by pen, brush, or chisel—men who rise in the realm of the fine arts and command the world to listen, to gaze, to admire, to respect, to praise their efforts.

It shows us that, after all, greatness is not a matter of race, color, or condition, and that it will win its way forward and upward. These are the ones who will raise a people to higher planes. These are the ones who will give this same people a place among the nations of the earth. These are the ones that we especially praise and honor.

But the Negro race has had such men scattered throughout its history—men of color who have distinguished themselves. We do not need to go back to the centuries when Bagay, or Cugoano, or Vassa lived for such material to declare the Negro's ability. The last century has given the world a proud list from which we may draw examples of Negro greatness in the higher walks of life.

I recall with pleasure the sight of a bronze figure in the Place Malesherbes in Paris which was the work of the great artist and sculptor Doré. It is that of Alexander Dumas's père, France's great Negro historical romancer, who has enchanted the world with his story-telling genius.

Dumas the father and Dumas the son have both carved niches for the race where their names are imperishably written, and France is proud to honor them.

Eighteen years ago Russia did honor to another Negro as we are honoring Dunbar to-day. Then the statue of Alexander Pushkin, acknowledged as Russia's greatest poet, was unveiled in Moscow to an admiring people who celebrated thus the literary achievements of the Negro "poet of the Caucasus." Pushkin's name is immortal in Russian hearts.

Down the list we may come to touch Phyllis Wheatley, whose powers drew a tribute from George Washington; to Banneker, who astounded the world with his scientific astronomical calculations—down to the present, where the names cluster more thickly, because of honors won—Edmonia Lewis, who from Rome made her fame as a sculptress; and Henry Tanner, whose fame as an artist has reached the coveted recognition of the French government. These, with Douglass and Washington and a host of

others, have proved to the world that the souls of black folks differ not from other souls in high impulses, aspirations, and even genius.

Russia and France are proud of their sable writers, each of whom stamped his own personality upon the literature of his nation, and why should not America possess the same pride?

REV. FRANCIS J. GRIMKE, D.D., OF WASHINGTON, D. C., THE DEAN  
OF NEGRO PREACHERS AND THEOLOGIAN.

A few months ago I was talking with an eminent colored orator, educator and preacher of the Methodist persuasion and mentioned Rev. Dr. Francis J. Grimke of Washington. "Yes," said he, "he is the dean of colored preachers." And I thought that this remark summed up the popular estimate of Dr. Grimke. There are other colored divines like Dr. William V. Tunnell, the Episcopalian; Dr. H. H. Proctor, Dr. Sterling Brown, and Dr. A. C. Garner, the Congregationalists; Dr. C. A. Tindley, Dr. O'Connell and Dr. Bowen of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Bishops Hood, Walters and Clinton, and Dr. S. L. Corrothers, Dr. P. A. Wallace and Dr. William H. Coffey of the A. M. E. Zion Church; Bishop Turner, Dr. Reverdy C. Ransom and Dr. I. N. Ross of the A. M. E. Church, and Rev. Dr. Rivers, Rev. Harvey Johnson, Rev. Walter H. Brooks, Rev. Dr. William Bishop Johnson, Dr. William H. Creditt, Rev. William P. Hayes, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Dr. J. Milton Waldron, Dr. D. S. Klugh and Dr. Kimball Warren of the Baptist fold, who are powerful potentates in their respective denominations, who hold regal sway at the conferences and conventions of their respective churches. But Rev. Dr. Grimke is a clergyman whose profound scholarship, logical reasoning, common sense, dignity and manliness of character, purity of life and kindness of heart have given him such prestige and standing in the country that he is respected by the leaders of all denominations.

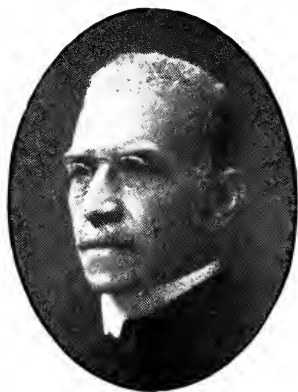
Twenty years ago, when I was a sophomore at Yale, men spoke the name, "Dr. Grimke," with respect and reverence. And they do to-day. If all of the Negroes in America were Catholics and the Pope of Rome decided to honor the Negro race with the Cardinal's cap, Dr. Grimke would be the almost universal choice. Since the deaths of Bishop Payne and Dr. Crummell,



MRS. JOSEPHINE ST. PIERRE RUFFIN  
of Boston, Mass. (wife of the late Judge  
George L. Ruffin of Boston) a Founder  
of the Northeastern Federation  
of Colored Women



DR. I. N. PORTER  
of New Haven, Conn., an illustrious  
example of the practical efficiency  
of the colored college  
graduate



REV. FRANCIS J. GRIMKE, D.D.  
Pastor of the Fifteenth St. Pres-  
byterian Church, Wash-  
ington, D. C.



HON. ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE  
Ex-U. S. Minister to St. Domingo  
Author of "Lives of Garrison  
and Sumner"





Dr. Grimke has remained the most potent figure in the Negro ecclesiastical world.

This is somewhat remarkable, when we consider that he very rarely leaves Washington, D. C., to go on a preaching or lecturing tour. But he has stamped the impression of his personality upon the national capital and upon those who visit it.

Dr. Grimke has done two very remarkable things. In the first place, for nearly a quarter of a century, he has pastored a church which in wealth and culture surpassed any other colored church in the country. If there is one colored church in the country which rivals some of the historic Congregational churches of New England, in that it represents the wealth, culture and social prestige of the community, it is the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C. The old and wealthy families, professors in Howard University, principals and teachers of the public schools, government clerks, lawyers, doctors and business men, and men living in comfort off of their incomes, attend it. It is a church that makes severe intellectual demands upon its preacher, and demands a man of refinement and of moral character above reproach and above suspicion as pastor. Dr. Grimke has pastored this church between the years 1878-1885 and for nearly the past quarter of a century. That is something unusual.

Then, again, Washington is a hard training ground for preachers. It is called the city of magnificent distances and disappointed hopes. The wealth and culture of the colored race is centered in Washington. I have seen Congregational, Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion clergymen, who dominated things in some other large metropolis, come to Washington and be regarded there as only mediocre preachers. Some of the Methodist ministers who have pastored there have since risen to the bishopric or become presidents of colleges or deans of theological seminaries. So, for a man to tower as an intellectual and moral colossus in Washington means that he is a man of transcendent ability and character. And yet, if at any time during the past twenty years you had asked anyone, "Who are the two most distinguished colored clergymen in Washington?" Dr. Grimke would be one of the two names mentioned.

Dr. Grimke has rung true upon the race question. Twenty years ago he was a champion for the manhood rights of the race. And his recent sermons upon "Christianity and Race Prejudice" and "Gideon Bands" indicate that his spirit is as manly and as strenuous as in days of yore.

Then, again, Dr. Grimke has that kindness of heart and mellowness of nature which causes him to respect a man who is a man and endeavoring to do what is right, even if he is not rolling in wealth and wearing broadcloth.

Dr. Grimke is a lover of literature and art. He has been a loyal member of the American Negro Academy since its inception, and treasurer for a large part of the time. An art club met at his house once a week. Dr. Grimke has the reproductions of famous paintings and famous works of art hanging in his house.

It is no one trait or quality that has given Dr. Grimke his ascendancy in the national capital and in the country. But the same combination of intellectual, æsthetical and moral qualities that gave Charles Eliot Norton his prestige in the American literary world and Richard Salters Storrs his prestige in the American ecclesiastical world, have given Dr. Grimke his prestige in the Negro ecclesiastical world.

Dr. Grimke is really the Storrs of the Negro pulpit. The late Dr. Richard Salters Storrs of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., was a man of a calm, judicial mind and unquestioned integrity of character. In splendor and grandeur of thought, and in opulence and richness of diction, he surpassed Beecher in his palmiest days. And that rich intellectual equipment was backed by the weight of a dignified, manly personality, so that when he ascended a pulpit it seemed as if he was a priest ascending a papal throne. His word carried great weight. Such a man is Dr. Grimke of Washington, D. C. When he takes a stand, the colored people of the country listen to him.

As a preacher, Dr. Grimke invariably reads his sermons, rarely lifting his face from the manuscript and fixing his eye upon the audience. With some preachers, the text is the point of departure. But Dr. Grimke develops his text and logically unfolds the meaning contained in it. He evolves what is involved in the text. He makes explicit what is latent and implicit in the text. He is not an orator, seeking to dazzle the audience with his

flowers of rhetoric and impassioned outbursts; but he is a thinker, giving voice and utterance to his profound thought with an impressive voice; a thinker tremendously in earnest, and you are carried along by the current and stream of his thought.

When J. C. Price spoke, the personality of the man dominated you; but when Dr. Grimke preaches, you forget the man and think of the message. Like the Apostle Paul, his one dominant purpose is to be the bearer of the message which he received from the Most High. Now for a brief account of Dr. Grimke's eventful boyhood and interesting life.

President Simmons says of Dr. Grimke on pages 608 and following of his "Men of Mark":

Mr. Grimke's parents were named Henry and Nancy Grimke. He was born in Charleston, S. C., November 4, 1850. His mother was a slave. On the death of his father, however, a change took place, when he was only a few years old. The children were all left free and placed under the guardian care of his father's oldest son, E. Montague Grimke, who faithfully discharged his duty towards them until Frank was about ten years old, when this guardian undertook to enslave them, which made some complications of course. Although a boy, Frank determined that he would not submit to such an outrage. He ran off and went into the Confederate army as the valet to one of the officers, in which position he continued for about two years. Through the influence of Mrs. Pillsbury, who was then in charge of Morris Street school in Charleston, which he attended for a while, his brother and himself went North for the purpose of being educated. Soon, however, he was summoned by Mrs. Pillsbury to report at once to Lincoln University, in Chester County, Pa., where arrangements had been made for the prosecution of his studies. As a student he ranked very high, and received the approbation of the professors and was acknowledged superior among the students. He graduated from the college department of this institution in 1870 as valedictorian of his class.

Immediately afterwards he began the study of law in the law department of the university, which at that time, in 1871, was on the university grounds. The next year he acted as financial agent of the university. The year after, he resumed his legal studies in the same department, which in the meantime had been removed to West Chester, Pa. The next year he went to Washington, District of Columbia, and entered the law department of Howard University. While there he decided to turn his thoughts to the ministry. In the fall of 1875, therefore, he entered the Princeton Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1878, and immediately went to Washington as pastor of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, where he remained until October, 1885, when he was called to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, Fla.

President James McCosh of Princeton College said of him:

I have heard him preach, and I feel as if I could listen to such preaching with profit from Sabbath to Sabbath; and I rejoice to find that the colored people of Washington have such a man to minister to them.

Dr. Grimke returned to Washington, D. C., and resumed the pastorate of his former church there. He has published articles in the New York *Independent* and the New York *Evangelist*. His address on "Character, the True Standard by which to Estimate Individuals and Races and by which they should Estimate Themselves and Others," delivered before the Presbyterian Council at its session held in the Berean Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Pa., October 27, 1911, is a powerful expression in words of the ideals and principles which have dominated and controlled Dr. Grimke's noble and heroic life.

HON. ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE OF WASHINGTON, D. C., THE DEAN OF  
COLORED ORATORS AND WRITERS.

Twenty years ago, Hon. Archibald H. Grimke, former United States Minister to San Domingo, gained a reputation as a brilliant writer, a finished orator, a true aristocrat and fearless champion of human rights. That reputation he bears to-day. He has pitched and kept his life on a high intellectual and moral plane, has stood forth as a colored representative of the Wendell Phillips type of manhood and his title to fame is secure.

We have produced orators galore. But many of the speeches of our great orators do not read well in print. Mr. Grimke's speeches are literary gems. His addresses as president of the American Negro Academy, his address at the presentation of the loving cup to Senator Foraker and his anti-lynching speech in Boston on May 9, 1899, are worthy of appearing in a compilation of American eloquence.

I believe that the latter effort was the speech of Mr. Grimke's career. An audience assembled in the Berkeley Temple or People's Temple to protest against the lynching of Sam Hose. Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis was the temporary presiding officer. The late Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson presided and referred to it as a real anti-slavery meeting. The speakers included such eminent citizens as Rev. Charles Gordon

Ames, Rev. Samuel Crothers, Rev. Dr. Berle, ex-Attorney General A. S. Pillsbury, ex-Governor Brackett and Hon. A. H. Grimke. So Mr. Grimke had as fellow speakers men who stood high in the literary, religious, political and business life of Massachusetts.

The editorial of the Boston Evening *Transcript* on Wednesday, May 10, 1899, under the caption of "The Barbarous States," referred to Mr. Grimke's speech as "the great speech of the occasion." It thus began: "The anti-lynching mass meeting at the People's Temple last night, if it does nothing else, has affixed a name to the States of the South which practice torture on black suspects prior to lynching that will stick. It is a former governor of Massachusetts who stamps the lynching states 'the Barbarous States.'" . . . After referring to Rev. Charles Gordon Ames's "Ahmen" as giving "the tone of Cromwellian consecration militant to the whole," after referring to Rev. Mr. Berle's "thrilling and pathetic speech," after referring to ex-Governor Brackett as "so conservative a Republican and so moderate a leader," after referring to ex-Attorney General Pillsbury as "so progressive and independent a Republican," after referring to "the scholarly Rev. Mr. Crothers" as being "most thoughtful and dispassionate," the editorial went on to say:

But the great speech of the occasion was that of Archibald M. Grimke, United States Consul-General at San Domingo under the Cleveland administration. The whole philosophy of the situation may be found in this fine paper, which is therefore reproduced in full in our report and is well worth reading by every candid man and woman, North and South, who seeks to know the whole truth about the Negro and the crying need there is for doing something to check the policy of the South, with the North's assent, to remand him to political and social vassalage. Mr. Grimke's delimitation of the lynching class in the South and historical account of the origin and growth of this distinct order of degenerates until its low life threatens to swamp all other at the South, the terror of both white and blacks, is a positive contribution to the philosophy and sociology of this crisis. It is a fearful indictment both of past conditions and present politics, but let who can overthrow it.

I have heard Mr. Grimke sway audiences in the St. Mark's Literary and Boston Literary in Boston. I heard him in Columbia Hall in New York in April, 1908, address a political meeting and raise it to the fever heat of enthusiasm; but I have never

heard him speak with so much fire and force and passion as at the celebrated Sam Hose meeting. He began as usual in his calm and self-possessed manner, but seemed to gather fire and force as he moved along. There was a suppressed excitement that vibrated through his entire personality. There was a nervous quiver to his voice, which had an elocutionary effect upon the audience. To say that Mr. Grimke held his audience spellbound and electrified would be putting it mildly. This was genuine eloquence.

But it is as a newspaper controversialist that Mr. Grimke has manifested surprising strength. I well remember the open letter in the Boston *Herald* in the campaign of 1900, in which Mr. Grimke scored the Republican party for its sins of commission and omission regarding the colored brother. The letter occupied nearly an entire page and was signed by Mr. Grimke and others. While I questioned then the wisdom of swapping a lukewarm friend for an avowed enemy and while I saw no hope for the Negro in the Democratic party, whose Northern wing is friendly, but whose Southern wing is hostile to him, I admired Mr. Grimke's brilliant analysis and epigrammatic sentences.

But a still more powerful series of letters appeared in the spring of 1905, when Mr. Grimke, through the columns of the New York *Age*, aroused the country against President Gordon of Howard University. The intellectual inefficiency and hostility of President Gordon to the higher aspirations of the Negro were so revealed by Mr. Grimke's short, crisp, terse and staccatic sentences, that the alumni, students and friends of the university forced Dr. Gordon's resignation.

Mr. Grimke was born on August 17, 1849, graduated from Lincoln University in 1870, receiving the A.M. degree. In 1874 he graduated from the Harvard University Law School. He was editor of the Hub newspaper in Boston from 1883-5. Then he was special writer on the Boston *Herald* and Boston *Traveler*. He was a trustee and secretary of the board of directors of the Westboro Insane Hospital from 1884-1894. He was United States Consul at San Domingo from 1894-98. He has written many pamphlets upon the anti-slavery movement, African civilization and the advancement of the colored people. He is a member of the American Social Science Association and president of the





REV. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, A.M., D.D.  
Former Missionary to Africa and Rector of the St. Luke's  
Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.



MRS. ROSETTA SPRAGUE  
Daughter of Frederick Douglass



American Negro Academy and president of the Frederick Douglass Memorial Association.

He has contributed articles to the *Atlantic Monthly* and other leading magazines and has written a *Life of William Lloyd Garrison* and a *Life of Charles Sumner*.

The *Baptist Commonwealth* of Philadelphia, Pa., on November 23, 1905, said of Grimke's "Life of Garrison":

It is one of the most entertaining and instructive biographies of that inspiring biographical series to which it belongs and to which he has also contributed an excellent biography of Charles Sumner.

Mr. Grimke is broader gauged than Washington.

Now I am going to close with an astounding proposition. Grimke is one of the few world statesmen whom the Negro race has evolved in America. Just as Grimke is more of a world statesman than Trotter and Washington, because, while they recognize the importance of certain phases and aspects of the race question, he grasps the significance of all; so we must recognize him as perhaps more of a world statesman than Douglass and Crummell even. Douglass wrought out a work for the emancipation and manhood rights of the Negro race that no other Negro, living or dead, has done. And Crummell has been the apostle of culture and prophet of righteousness for the Negro race in America. There was in him the blending of a Plato and an Elijah, the fusing of a Carlyle and a Matthew Arnold. The aristocratic and the humane, the refined and the heroic elements, the austere and gracious, were so mixed and synthesized in him that no single adjective could characterize him.

When he died in the fall of 1898 the *New York Tribune* said that he was the ripest scholar of his race. Hon. E. D. Bassett told me that Crummell was a ripe scholar, a high-minded, high-spirited Christian gentleman; Rev. C. H. Dickerson said that he was a born aristocrat; Rev. T. G. Brown, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., the church Crummell was a priest in, said of him: "Crummell was ambitious and indomitable and would not be overcome." DuBois says that in other ages Crummell would have worn the purple or been clad in the toga. These impressions of Crummell from keen observers give one an idea of the greatness of the man. In his little circle

in Washington, D. C., he was looked up to as a king. When he retired from the pastorate, at a public reception held in his honor, amid thunderous applause, Dr. Grimke bestowed upon him the title of "Terror to Evil Doers." Crummell told me that he regarded that as the highest compliment that had ever been paid to him. Taking him all in all, I believe that he is the grandest character the race has yet produced. He was the grand old man of the Negro race. Of the living Negroes, Dr. F. J. Grimke alone matches him in dignity, sublimity and austerity of character.

And Crummell recognized the importance of the Negro's mastering the trades, acquiring land and accumulating wealth just as Douglass and Booker Washington did. And yet he did not quite emphasize the importance of the ballot to the extent that Douglass did. On the other hand, Douglass did not appreciate the value of culture for its own sake as Crummell did. Grimke, while not as forceful as a leader as either Douglass or Crummell, is perhaps more of a world statesman than either Crummell or Douglass, because Grimke on the one hand stands for the intellectual, æsthetic and moral aspirations of Crummell; and on the other hand for the political aspirations of Douglass.

The prototype of Grimke was found in Paul Cuffe and George T. Downing; but while they possessed a greater administrative and executive genius than Grimke, they lacked his scholarship and university training. Paul Cuffe, born in 1759, was an agitator for civil and political rights, a daring navigator, an accumulator of wealth, a devout Christian, a philanthropic educator and a missionary philanthropist. Downing was a successful business man, the right hand man of Charles Sumner in his civil rights fight, a pioneer in having the theatres open to the Negroes in Washington, and a pioneer in Rhode Island in having mixed schools established, colored teachers in mixed schools, a pioneer in having colored men admitted to the State militia in Rhode Island and to the police force in Newport, R. I. Like Crummell and Charles Sumner, Downing was a proud autocrat, a born aristocrat. He was refined, dignified, polished and courteous in manner and of puritanic moral fibre. Grimke seems to me to be as versatile and broad gauged as Cuffe and Downing; but he is more of a scholar, historian and sociologist.

To sum up, Douglass, Crummell, Downing, Trotter and Washington will go down in Negro history as the champions and representatives of one idea; Professor Kelly Miller as the estimator of the life work of others; Cuffe and Downing as versatile and broad-gauged self-made men; while Hon. Archibald H. Grimke will stand forth as the man who so grasped and comprehended all the phases and aspects of the race question that we can regard him as a world statesman of the Negro race.

FOOT NOTE.—Eight clergymen deserve mention as spiritual leaders. Rev. John Bunyan Reeves of Philadelphia, Pa., retired in June, 1913, from the pastorate of the Lombard Street Presbyterian Church. He had remained as pastor for fifty-three years. While not a man of the national fame of Dr. Grimke, he is a man of great intellectual ability and of high character.

Rev. Henry L. Phillips, D.D., for thirty years rector of the Church of the Crucifixion in Philadelphia, Pa., is now an archdeacon of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

Rev. H. C. Bishop, rector of St. Philip's Episcopal Church of New York City, has remained as pastor over thirty years and has made himself felt as an intellectual and moral force.

Rev. Frazier B. Miller, rector of the St. Augustine Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., is a philosopher, a sociologist, an eloquent preacher and a genial companion.

Rev. A. C. Garner, D.D., of Washington, D. C., was honored with a vice-presidency of the great American Missionary Association of New York at its sixty-third annual meeting in Burlington, Vt., October 21, 1909.

Rev. William H. DeBerry, a Fiske graduate, pastor of the Congregational Church of Philadelphia, Pa., has had phenomenal success as preacher, pastor and orator and is much sought after by white congregations as a speaker.

Rev. William P. Hayes, the present pastor of the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church of New York City, is a tall, slender, fine-looking gentleman, a ripe classical scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a manly man. I believe that he taught New Testament Greek in Union University, Richmond, Va. He married Miss Carrie Aimy of Wilmington, N. C., a talented musician.

Dr. I. N. Ross of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church of Washington, D. C., is a man of Websterian physique and Websterian eloquence.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### *The Negro as Leader, Continued—A Critical Examination of the Scientific Validity and Historical Truth of Dr. Washington's Optimism.*

Some may inquire why Dr. Booker T. Washington does not find a place in my list of forty colored immortals. The answer is at hand. In the first place, I give the preference to the dead. Then he has been an overrated man. Men are natural hero worshippers. The public idealizes its hero at first. It takes the same attitude towards him that the young girl does towards her first lover. She endows him with imaginary virtues and graces that he does not possess. When she becomes disillusioned, she seeks another hero and idealizes him. Men like Admiral Dewey, Richard Hobson, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and Dr. Booker T. Washington, who leap into sudden fame, through performing a single feat or making a great speech, are immediately set upon a pedestal of greatness by an admiring public. Sooner or later most of them descend, more or less. Dr. Washington descended farther and more rapidly than the other three, being "reduced from a forming Colossus to the common size of man," because he had been more greatly overrated than the other three.

Ninety per cent. of the persons who read of his career had not known intimately of the careers of Mohammed Askia, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Russian Hannibal, King Menelik of Abyssinia, Chief Justice Sir William Conrad Reeves, Bishop Adjai Crowther, Julien Raimond, General Alexander Dumas, General Alfred Dodds, Paul Cuffe, Robert Purvis, James Forten, George T. Downing, Professor C. C. Cook and Thomas Walker. Ninety per cent. of those who heard him speak had never heard Samuel Ringgold Ward, Frederick Douglass, Robert Purvis, Charles Lenox Remond, J. C. Price, William Howard Day, Alexander Crummell, Hon. Archibald Grimke, Dr. F. J. Grimke, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Professor Kelly Miller, Professor William H. H. Hart, Dr. York Russell and Vice President James H. Dossen of Liberia. Ninety per cent. of the men and women who had met

him personally had never met intimately a score or two of talented colored men like Dr. O. M. Waller, Professor Bulkley, George Wibecan, George W. Forbes, Clement G. Morgan, Dr. I. N. Porter, Dr. J. Milton Waldron, William V. Tunnell, Professor W. H. Richards, Professor Edward A. Bouchet, President Thomas B. Miller, Dr. M. C. B. Gilbert, Counsellor A. C. Cowan, Assistant Corporation Counsel J. D. Carr, ex-Assistant Attorney General William H. Lewis, Attorney Butler R. Wilson and J. E. Bruce, the president of the Negro Society for Historical Research. Consequently the public thought that he was the only remarkable Negro that America had produced, when in reality he was only one of fifty remarkable colored men who made America the scene of their life work. The world thought that Booker T. Washington was the only remarkable Negro evolved in the course of the world's history, when in reality he was only one out of one hundred remarkable men of color produced during the past two hundred years and only one out of two hundred remarkable colored men produced during the past one thousand years.

White men who knew other talented colored men intimately did not regard Dr. Washington as the only star of the first magnitude in the firmament of Negro greatness. He spoke at the Raleigh colored fair in October, 1903. The *Raleigh News and Observer* in an editorial said in substance that while Booker T. Washington gave his people good advice, he did not stir the blood of his race as an orator as the late J. C. Price did. Ex-Governor Glenn of North Carolina, at the commencement of the A. & M. College at Greensboro, N. C., in 1905 or 1906, said that he regarded President Dudley as a greater man than Booker T. Washington. In December, 1900, one of the trustees of the State College at Tallahassee, Fla., told me that he regarded President Tucker as great a man as Booker T. Washington. Two prominent white citizens of South Carolina in January, 1905, told me that they regarded President Thomas B. Miller as great a man as Booker T. Washington. In the spring of 1902, a white man of brains informed me that he regarded Professor William H. Hart of Howard University as a more gifted orator than Booker T. Washington. After the publication of DuBois's "Souls of Black Folks," white men of brains informed me that they regarded him as a more brilliant man than Booker T. Wash-

ington. Other white men have informed me that they regarded Professor Kelly Miller as a better equipped man intellectually than Booker T. Washington.

Dr. Washington was unable, in his palmyest days, when the star of his greatness was at its zenith, when the sun of his glory was shining at its maximum, to secure a grip upon the hearts of his race. He lacked the intellectual equipment of the late Sir William Conrad Reeves, chief justice of Barbadoes, and hence couldn't challenge the admiration of the cultured men of his own race. He lacked Reeves's manliness of character and hence couldn't arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. The enthusiasm generated by big meetings in his honor in Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Louisville, Ky., and Chicago, Ill., was not the spontaneous enthusiasm that the spell of the names of Conrad Reeves, Frederick Douglass, J. C. Price, and Bishop H. M. Turner aroused. But it was an enthusiasm artificially generated and worked up by elaborate committees of arrangements and programmes and big headlines in colored and white newspapers.

As Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University said in his chapter upon "Radicals and Conservatives" in his book called "Race Adjustment," Dr. Booker T. Washington lacked the heroic personality of Frederick Douglass. And it has been demonstrated again and again in the history of mankind, that only the men of sublime and heroic character have been able to get a marvelous hold upon the imagination of men. As a builder up of Tuskegee, Dr. Washington was a crowning success; as a national leader of the Negro race, he was only a partial success.

I may seem too critical of a man who was once a popular idol. But there is one weekly newspaper, the New York *Independent*, whose prestige, standing, moral tone and far-reaching influence is unquestioned. Its managing editor, Hamilton Holt, is a man of whom Yale, his alma mater, is justly proud. Its former editor-in-chief, Rev. William Hayes Ward, D.D., LL.D., has such a standing as a scholar that the late Professor J. H. Thayer of the Harvard Divinity School, the greatest New Testament Greek scholar in the world, frequently spoke of Dr. Ward to his classes in terms of profound respect of his worth as a theologian and New Testament Greek scholar. Then, like the late

Professor William James of Harvard University, he is an idealist, who is eminently practical. In him New England Puritanism has reached its finest flavor, and whatever the New York *Independent* or Springfield *Republican* says is worthy of serious consideration.

And this is what the New York *Independent* said of Dr. Washington on January 8, 1898, when the world was regarding him with the same awe that one regards the Colossus of Rhodes. I am no prophet. My mission as a historian is to record the past deeds and achievements and portray the present yearnings and aspirations of the Negro. But I venture to make one prediction. The estimate of the New York *Independent's* editorial will be the judgment of posterity. The *Independent* says:

Since the death of Frederick Douglass and President Price, without doubt Booker Washington is, by virtue of half his blood, the leading representative of the Negro race in the United States. He has intelligence, enterprise, executive power, and a good deal of eloquence. He has built up a large institution at Tuskegee and has made himself known all over the North by his public appeals for it. By good natural ability and much practice, combined with no small amount of that common sense which is the best endowment, he has served his great industrial and normal school while for the most part absent from it. He deserves high honor.

But they are wrong who set him up as a sort of idol in a solitary African pinnacle and worship him. We frequently see such language as we quote from one of the leading denominational papers in this country, which calls him "not only the ablest and wisest colored man in the United States, but also the most useful." That he is most in the public eye by his continual appeals is beyond question; but that he is the ablest, or the wisest, or the most useful is far from clear. We could mention a dozen that are not one whit inferior, and that, too, without including one of the bishops or preachers.

What gives Mr. Washington his great popularity is not wholly his ability and wisdom as a speaker, but in considerable part the fact that his devotion to industrial education brings him special favor with nearly all the representatives of Southern sentiment and culture, and also with a large part of our Northern people, who unconsciously sympathize with the idea that manual labor is as much as the Negro can properly aspire to. Indeed, the Slater Fund, specially devoted to Negro education, has been assigned wholly to education of the industrial sort.

Now, industrial education is good, but it is not the chief good. It is less important and less influential than some other sorts of education. It can more easily be obtained in field, shop or home than other kinds of education, and it is the kind which the Negro has best learned in slavery. Such a school as Tuskegee offers but a very moderate course, hardly up

to secondary, except in industries. It is a great thing to establish and maintain, through wide appeal, a school which gives so many pupils a moderate education; and it is even better to use the influence of Mr. Washington for better homes and more thrift, but this doctrine has been preached with as great faithfulness and power by many colored and white men before him.

A system of wide public education depends not on primary or secondary schools, but on institutions of the highest grade. New England led the country in public education simply because she founded Harvard College six years after the settlement of Boston; while Virginia waited eighty years before founding a college, and New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania nearly twice as long. The higher education lifts the lower, not the reverse. The influence of a school for the Negro, as for the white man, depends on its grade. One Yale is worth, for the country, a hundred commercial or industrial colleges.

So, while we give all honor to Booker Washington, and while we highly value his work, we do not give it the primacy which some others do. We recognize that he is a sensible, prudent man, somewhat hampered in his utterances by his dependence on the Alabama Legislature for his appropriation, but yet exerting a very wide and very useful influence; and yet we do not give him any unique honor above what we give to Professor Croghan, Professor DuBois, Professor Wright or Professor Bulkley, not to pass beyond the circle of the Negroes engaged in the education of their race.

It may be thought that in questioning the scientific validity and the historic truth of Dr. Washington's roseate optimism, which paints the South as a second Utopia, a second Garden of Eden, and a balmy Paradise for the Southern Negro only excelled by the Indian's dream of a happy hunting ground and the Mohammedan's dream of a heaven where delightful scenery, beautiful women and sweet music beguile his awakened senses, that I am biased by personal feeling. But I will quote a few sentences from "The Ultimate Solution of the American Negro Problem," by Edward Eggleston, a Virginian of the Virginians. Surely, if any one ought to be satisfied with Mr. Washington's roseate picture of the South, it ought to be Southerners to whom Mr. Washington constantly refers as more sympathetic to the Negro than the Northerners.

But this is what Mr. Eggleston says of Mr. Washington's roseate optimism on pages 189-90 of his book:

However, we cannot always agree with Dr. Booker T. Washington in what he has to say on this phase of the subject. For instance, we find



in his "Future of the American Negro" this statement: "What other sins the South may be called upon to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world."

If he intends to say that the Negro's chance is better South than North he has spoken wisely, but if he means by this assertion that in the South all the avenues of commerce and trade are equally open to both races his conclusion is singularly incorrect. This latter condition never has and never will exist. Again, Dr. Washington says: "Whenever the Negro has lost ground industrially in the South, it is not because there is prejudice against him as a skilled laborer on the part of the native Southern white man." The question arises here as to the interpretation of the sense in which he uses the word "prejudice." If he only intended to say that in the South, and as a general proposition, there exists no abnormal or unreasonable prejudice, his statement is fairly accurate, but if he means to tell us that as a skilled laborer he has an equal chance with the white man, the facts are overwhelmingly against him. The truth that there is a very *strong and controlling race prejudice* is, we believe, implicit throughout this work. Any considerable knowledge of the operation of natural law reveals this without recourse to particular incidents.

We are therefore of the opinion that such statements from Dr. Washington are born of an abiding and commendable hopefulness and a controlling desire, rather than a calm and careful reasoning.

We have the greatest respect for Dr. Booker T. Washington and sincerely believe he has done and is doing a great work for his race; but we do not think he is always consistent in what he has to say. He is cautious and moderate but by no means a profound philosopher.

We have seen how two thoughtful Americans regard Mr. Washington and his optimism. It might be instructive to note how two thoughtful, observing Europeans, Mr. Robert Braun, an Austrian, and Mr. William Archer, an Englishman, regard Mr. Washington's optimism.

THE MAN FARTHEST DOWN.

(From the *Crisis*, May, 1913.)

Mr. Booker T. Washington has a report in the *Independent* on Mr. Watt Terry, a remarkable young Negro capitalist of Brockton, Mass. Terry has a gross monthly income of over \$6,000 from \$400,000 worth of real estate. He began business twelve years ago. The article rightly emphasizes the fact that grit, honesty and ability will tell even for black Americans. It is proper that such cases should be spoken of and given their full value.

At the same time one reads with interest the statement of an Austrian observer, Robert Braun, in the *Public*, commenting on a review of Mr. Washington's last book by J. H. Dillard:

"Booker T. Washington surely deserves the praise of Professor Dillard, and even more than that. I have always considered him as the best representative of American character. I know of no other man who has made such a wonderful progress out of the deepest ignorance and poverty. He is the most energetic and most optimistic man I ever met. But with all my admiration for him, if I were a Negro I would not follow him. I believe, in his great optimism, he has not the right conception of the situation of his race. And I believe many Americans share what I regard as his mistaken optimism.

"First of all, there is hardly anywhere in Europe a race question in the American sense. With us it is mostly a question of languages, where the ultimate aim is to assimilate the other 'race.' There is, of course, oppression, and force used against people speaking another language, in Hungary and in other European countries; but the aim is not to exclude them, but just the opposite—to assimilate them. They are not excluded from the schools and churches of the ruling 'race'; on the contrary, they are forced to join them. No liberal-thinking man can justify such measures, but they are certainly a milder form of oppression than those usual in America, on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line. I would be even so tactless (you do not want to be always tactful) as to say that I know of no country in the world where 'the man farthest down' would be more hopelessly down than is the Negro in America. There is no doubt in my mind that the Negro farmer lives more comfortably, that he is more intelligent and more virtuous than the majority of peasants in Southeastern Europe. But the feeling of human happiness is based largely upon comparison with the condition of our neighbors, and upon hopefulness. Where legal and social equality is racial, oppression is more keenly resented than in countries where oppression is common. And what hope can a Negro in America have where the most prominent Negro, Booker T. Washington, boasts in the most childish way of having once had tea in a dining car without being turned out? How many Negroes enjoy the same privilege in the South, after so many years under that Constitutional amendment which is directed against discrimination 'on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude?' Is there any people or nation in Europe in the same hopeless inequality? And who would not, *ceteris paribus*, prefer to be a Jew in Russia than to be a Negro in America?

"My investigations in the South led me to the conclusion that the race question has not yet reached its climax in America. Most Negroes acquiesce in their present condition. Their inevitable progress in education will change all that; it will make them dissatisfied. The Southern white man will make no concession to a Negro just because he has become more cultivated, because he uses more soap and better English. On the contrary, the more he will then insist upon drawing the color line."

Mr. William Archer, on pages 208-215 of his discerning work, "Through Afro-America, an English Reading of the Race Problem," says:

We pass now to the second eventuality—the gradual smoothing away of friction, so that the two races may live side by side, never blending and yet never jarring. This is the conception set forth in Mr. Booker Washington's celebrated "Atlanta Compromise" speech of 1895, wherein he said, "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Is this a possible—I will not say ideal, for that it manifestly is not—but a possible working arrangement?

One thing is evident at the outset—namely, that the fourteen years that have elapsed since Mr. Washington uttered this aspiration have brought its fulfilment no nearer. Both Negro education and white education have advanced in the interim; the "respectable" and well-to-do class of Negroes has considerably increased, but the feeling between the races is worse rather than better. At best, indeed, the Southern kindness of feeling towards the individual Negro subsisted only so long as he "knew his place" and kept it; and the very process of education and elevation on which Mr. Washington relies renders the Negro ever less willing to keep the place the Southern white man assigned him. . . . Altogether, the tendency of events since 1895 has not been at all in the direction of the Atlanta Compromise. The Atlanta riot of eleven years later was a grimly ironic comment on Mr. Washington's speech.

This merely means, it may be said, that education has as yet produced no sensible effect upon the inveterate and inhuman prejudice of the South. Nevertheless, time and patience may justify Mr. Washington's optimism. There is no saying, indeed, what a great deal of time and a great deal of patience may not effect. . . . Is it wonderful that the Atlanta Compromise, supposing it realized in all conceivable perfection, should excite little enthusiasm in the white South?

But to imagine it realized in perfection is to imagine an impossibility—almost a contradiction in terms. We are, on the one hand, to suppose the Negro ambitious, progressive, prosperous, and, on the other hand, to imagine him humbly acquiescent in his status as a social pariah. The thing is out of the question—such saintlike humility has long ceased to form any part of the moral equipment of the American Negro. The bullet could never be thoroughly encysted; it would always irritate, rankle, fester. Mr. Washington's formula in renouncing social equality is judiciously vague as to political rights. But one thing is certain—neither Mr. Washington nor any Negro leader really contemplates their surrender. It is quite inconceivable that the nation within a nation should acquiesce in disfranchisement; and the question of the Negro vote will always be a disturbing factor in Southern political life. Either he must be jockeyed out of it by devices abhorrent to democratic prin-

ciple or less subversive of political morality; or, if he be honestly suffered to cast his ballot, he will block the healthy divergence of political opinion in the South, since, in any party conflict, he would hold the balance between the two sides, and thus become the dominant power in the State. This will always be a danger so long as the unassimilated Negro is forced, by his separateness, to think and act first as a Negro and only in the second place as an American. Even if the Atlanta Compromise were otherwise realizable, the friction at this point would always continue acute. . . .

I venture to say that no one—not even Mr. Washington himself—really believes in the Atlanta Compromise as a stable solution of the problem. The Negro who accepts it as an interim ideal (so to speak), never doubts that it is but a stepping-stone to freedom of racial intermixture.

In this connection, again, editors Green Jackson and Professor C. G. Garrett of the *Southern Sun*, Columbia, S. C., recently said:

Dr. Booker T. Washington's bank account and brick-block, owned by colored people, to solve the race problem, failed, it seems, in the case of Rev. J. W. White of the Georgia *Baptist*. Rev. White was intelligent, wealthy and industrious; in fact he is white in color and good, we believe, at heart.

Atlanta is a great place for Negro gatherings. It was there that the Young People's Educational and Christian Congress was born. It was there that Booker T. Washington held his latest Business League. It was in Atlanta that Booker himself came into public notice. It is in the gate city of the South that the biggest men of the race, in fame, wealth and education live, and the friendliest sentiments are ever expressed by the blacks towards the whites at their public meetings; yet none of this could stay the hands of the mob, and the race was without sufficient influence among the whites to keep an afternoon paper from incensing the white population to rioting. Mr. Washington will have to get another remedy to cure the race problem, for his ownership of a brick-block has, in this case, utterly failed.

These four estimates of Mr. Washington's optimism indicate the drift of enlightened public sentiment in America and abroad. Thus we see that the famous Atlanta Compromise, which was launched amid the brandishing of swords, the blowing of trumpets, the playing of bands, the waving of flags and handkerchiefs and the plaudits of an admiring world, and which was expected to usher in the millennium in the Southland, was only a dream, conjured up by the imagination of a man who was intoxicated and bewildered and who lost his head by being

suddenly lifted to the dizzy heights of fame and who fondly believed that the simple matter of putting a few thousand dollars in his hands would lull to sleep the inherited prejudices of the South and act as an opiate, a narcotic and soporific drug to the ambitions and aspirations of the talented sons and daughters of his own race.

The fact that Mr. Washington appeared before the public as a raiser of funds for a school, prevented his presenting a scientific study of the status of his own race. He was unconsciously led to emphasize those things that would bring in the golden ducats, unconsciously led to exaggerate the original depravity of the Negro, the defects of the educated Negro, the influence that he had with his own race, and the transformation in the character of the Negro and the attitude of the Southern whites toward the black man which his own propaganda had effected. His dominant purpose was not to present a sociological study of the South, but to secure big contributions. His object was to put his readers and hearers in a pleasant mood. And hence he was led to paint a roseate picture of present conditions and to see in every cloud "a blessing in disguise."

Mr. Washington's Atlanta Compromise only retarded instead of speeding the condition of stable equilibrium, because it clouded and befogged instead of clarifying the subject. For a while he impressed an admiring world that he was a magician and prestidigitator who could eclipse the wonders of Aladdin's Lamp and the Arabian Nights Entertainment. He persuaded the world that he could transform the Negro into an intelligent, progressive, wealth-producing being, who yet would not feel that he was a man. And for a while the world believed that Booker could perform the wonderful trick and produce the impossible man, who yet was not a man. But finally the world was forced to realize that the black man was made out of the same clay as the rest of mankind, that Mr. Washington's intelligent and progressive Negro, who yet was not a man, had no existence save in Mr. Washington's imagination and that ambition led him as it led Icarus, King Canute and Napoleon to attempt the impossible.

And when we fully realize that the Negro belongs to the genus *vir* as well as to the genus *homo*, we have gotten a long way towards the solution of a vexed problem.

I have, already, at the beginning of this chapter, referred to the fact that the *Raleigh News and Observer*, in commenting upon Mr. Washington's address at the Negro fair in Raleigh, in October, 1903, stated that while he gave his people good advice, he could not stir the blood of his race as J. C. Price could. This is what led the editor to make that observation: Professor John R. Hawkins, the present financial secretary of the A. M. E. Church, in a thirty-minute address, had raised the audience to the feverheat of enthusiasm as he pictured the progress of the Negro since emancipation, and Professor S. G. Atkins of Winston-Salem, N. C., had fairly electrified the audience in his introduction to Dr. Washington's address. But the latter pitched his address upon a rather low plane. He closed several sections of his address by saying "I am telling you about your bread and butter." Now, no man can ever inspire an audience by making pork and beans, corn bread and bacon and ham and cabbage the theme of his address, valuable as they are as food stuff, and reminding his hearers that they are merely eating and drinking machines, merely feeding automatons. Hog philosophy has never edified mankind.

The hog lives to eat; but man eats to live. With the savage, the body dominates the mind; but with the civilized man the mind dominates the body. Savagery means the control of the mind by the bodily appetites and passions. Civilization means the control of the bodily appetites and passions by the mind. *Mens sana in corpore sano*, "a sound mind in a sound body," was the Greek ideal of life. Even the ancient Greek recognized that the body was the servant and not the master of the mind. If this be the case, no educator who is of the earth earthy, who does not soar above his belly, can inspire or lead civilized men. The great leaders of men, the founders of religions which have stirred human nature to its very depths, have lit the torch of their inspiration upon the heights of Mt. Parnassus and, in a dim way, perhaps, have recognized the divinity of man.

If there has been any defect in Dr. Washington's philosophy and teachings, it has been because he has not bathed and saturated himself in the first two chapters of Genesis, which have crystallized the very essence and quintessence of idealistic philosophy. In chapter I, verse 27 of Genesis, we find, "And God created

man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." In chapter II, verse 7, we find, "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

It is not my purpose to sermonize or write a homiletic treatise or dissertation in elucidation of these texts, but I desire to make a few closing reflections. I realize that we are living in a scientific age, when material progress is the watchword of the hour, when "Get money, get money, and get more money" is the rallying cry of modern civilization; in an age when the value of the æsthetical has been recognized; but as long as man feels that he is something more than the dust of the earth, as long as he looks up to the skies and feels his kinship with the Divine, men without the vision of God, men who do not see human life in the shadow of the Eternal, may delight him for the moment, but can never touch the deepest chords of his being.

And that is perhaps one of the reasons why Dr. Washington in the heyday of his glory never really appealed to his race. Now I am not speaking for my race, but I have rarely heard Dr. Washington speak without having a chilled shiver go up and down my vertebrate column, without leaving the place with an oppressed and suppressed feeling, after having had the truth hammered home that I am only a creature of the dust and that when I have filled my stomach, put clothes on my back and provided a shelter for my weary body, I have realized my destiny and mission as a colored individual. But when Frederick Douglass spoke he inspired me, appealed to the sublime in me and filled me with the thought of the dignity, the grandeur and the limitless possibilities of the human personality. And when Rev. Dr. Alexander Crummell spoke he awoke the deathless hopes of the human soul.

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

*Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois and the Other Colored Leaders; the Warring Gods on Mt. Olympus—Dr. DuBois's Place in History.*

I heard Dr. DuBois lecture upon John Brown a few years ago and I now regard him not only as the most gifted writer our race in America has yet produced, but as one of the greatest living American Negroes. The masterly way in which he described the decay of Feudalism in Europe; the attempt at the same time to revive Feudalism, the doctrine of a servile class, in America; the growth of the eighteenth century ideas of the rights of man and the consequent undermining of the structure of human slavery, in the introduction to his address; the masterly manner in which he showed how the invention of the cotton gin and the demand for cotton gave a new impetus to slavery; the masterly way in which he analyzed the forces that made John Brown the man that he was, and his graphic picture of the Prometheus of the nineteenth century, all this shows that DuBois possesses a philosophic and comprehensive grasp of great movements in history and a light, graceful touch in making the past live again before our eyes, quite an endowment for a literary man.

And then DuBois's personality as a speaker shows that he possesses the note of personal ascendancy that makes one an effective speaker and a leader of men, as well as unique gifts as a writer and historian. Cardinal Newman was one of the few literary men of the nineteenth century who possessed the masterful personality that makes one a leader of men. And I believe that it is the blending of philosophic and literary qualities, the blending of literary gifts with the strenuous will that makes one a leader of men that constitutes DuBois's unique greatness. Is he then an orator and a born leader of men as well as a philosophic historian and prose poet?

DuBois is not a mob orator who can set an audience crazy with excitement, cause men and women to run up and down the aisles, jump over benches, faint away into a swoon or trance, rise in





HON. WILLIAM H. DUPRE

(Postmaster of Station A Boston for 22 years)





their seats and then fall on the floor in hysterics and convulsions. But DuBois can hold the attention of an audience and impress his thought upon it. As I looked at his Shakespeare, Sir Walter Raleigh or Cardinal Richelieu type of head and face, as I saw mentality and intellectuality stamped upon that brow, and an imperial will, a royal and regal nature written upon that face; as I noticed his self-possession and perfect command of himself upon the platform and observed his quiet, easy manner of speaking, his well modulated voice and his delightful flow of words, I realized then why some of the men who represent the brains, culture and manhood of the Negro race look to DuBois as their spokesman and champion.

I suppose that his peculiar genius as a writer and historian resides in the fact that he combines the psychological insight and philosophical grasp of an Edward Freeman and George Burton Adams with the imaginative touch and the delicate grace of a George William Curtis and Donald G. Mitchell.

The Niagara movement, organized in July, 1900, meant that the mantle of Frederick Douglass had fallen upon DuBois and that the educated men of the race rallied around him with the fidelity of Scottish clansmen. But he lacked the magnetism to gather the *οἱ πολλοὶ* of his race around him, lacked the fire and the force to electrify vast crowds, and lacked the generalship to bind the masses together.

Dr. DuBois possessed the critical but not the constructive and creative faculties. He was more successful in pointing out the defects and shortcomings in Mr. Washington's personality and teachings than in building up a personal following and machine of his own. While splendidly endowed as a scholar and writer, Dr. DuBois lacked the ability to size up and appraise men at their face value, and to discern that this man has a peculiar fitness for this task and that man for that task, which Touissaint L'Ouverture possessed, and which the great leaders of men, the great generals of history, the great captains of industry have ever possessed.

He possessed a dignity and manliness of character and polish of manner, but lacked the magnetic personality of a Samuel Ringo Ward, a Frederick Douglass and a J. C. Price, which makes one a popular idol. And that is why the Niagara movement, which

embodied the highest racial ideals, could never get a grip upon the masses of men, became a cult instead of a crusade, and spent its force within five years. But it kindled a fire in the hearts of the Negro that is burning still, crystallized the opposition to Booker T. Washington's leadership, and taught the world to respect the strivings of men of color. And that is why I have so frequently referred to it in this book.

Then Hon. John E. Millholland, Editor Oswald Garrison Villard, Miss Mary White Ovington, author of that splendid monograph, "Half a Man," Mr. William Walling, Hon. Moorfield Storey, Hon. A. E. Pillsbury and other prominent men and women of both races organized the Society for the Advancement of Colored People; elected Hon. Moorfield Storey as president; selected DuBois as secretary, with headquarters in New York City; and interested such public-spirited citizens as Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, Rev. John Hayes Holmes, Mr. Jacob S. Schiff, Mr. Henry Morgenthau and Professor Spingarn in it; then DuBois forged ahead of Mr. Washington and became one of the recognized spokesmen of his race.

Frederick Douglass became a conspicuous figure in 1850, when he and Samuel Ringo Ward turned the tide at the celebrated Rynder's meeting in New York City; and he remained the most distinguished colored man in America until his death in the fall of 1894. A few colored men essayed to fill his place. One of them, Booker T. Washington, was solidly backed by a group of Northern philanthropists and Southern statesmen and the Associated Press of the country. At first he swept everything before him like a mountain torrent. But he welcomed no other colored deities to the Olympian height of fame on which he dwelt. And he, with his colored political and educational machine, having its headquarters in the national capital, and the cordon of colored newspapers which he helped when they were in financial straits, removed from his path those who seemed capable of growing into colossal enough proportions to wrest from him the sceptre of racial leadership or divide the supremacy with him.

His method was simple and easy; namely, to prevent their securing educational, political, ecclesiastical and editorial jobs; to prevent his powerful white friends from aiding institutions, churches and publishing enterprises they represented, and, if

possible, to knock them out of the positions that they already held. He showered his favors upon the mediocre men in the Negro race and attempted to starve the powerful men into submission. In a word, he became a Jupiter Tonans, who attempted to lord it over the other black gods and reduce them to submission. He and his followers checkmated a few Yale and Harvard graduates and then branded them as failures.

Finally, we had the spectacle of a King John with rebellious nobles and feudal lords, of a Zeus with the other gods on Mt. Olympus warring against him, and with the colored mortals below divided in their sympathies. Dame Fortune or Divine Providence favored the rebellious nobles and the warring gods, and the Tuskegee sage finally lost his Jovian power, so that now the throne of Negro leadership is vacant again.

The question now is, will Dr. DuBois, the Mars who was so conspicuous in the struggle that resulted in the downfall of Jupiter Tonans, to fill the vacant throne?

Dr. DuBois has some things in his favor. I read his "Souls of Black Folks" with eagerness. I admired the gorgeous imagery and poetic beauty of the book; I was swept off my feet by the lyric sway and cadence of its style. That book was scholarship speaking in the beauty and matchless cadence of a Newman; poetic beauty of style adding new charm and mystery to the hackneyed race question.

I think that as a literary craftsman, a magician in words and a verbal prestidigitator, DuBois is the equal of the famous masters of English and American prose, and that his brilliant style has as its substratum solid learning. Indeed, his scholarship is equal to that of the average Yale or Harvard professor. He has the dignity, manliness, polish and refinement that makes him show up to advantage in the drawing-room, at a dinner party or at a pink tea affair. No man in the race can show up better on social, semi-social and semi-literary occasions as an example of a cultured and refined colored gentleman. But, on the other hand, DuBois has a much more difficult task cut out for him than Douglass had. In the first place, he lacks Douglass' colossal physique, leonine countenance, thundering voice and magnetic personality. Then, too, the educated colored men in Douglass' day were few and far between. Now they are numbered by the

scores. Let us enumerate the list of colored men who rival or almost rival DuBois in scholarship and leadership.

There are Rev. Dr. Francis J. Grimke and Hon. Archibald H. Grimke, who are aristocrats with a remarkable breadth of culture, common sense, force of character and power of expression; President W. S. Scarborough of Wilberforce University, a Greek scholar, a polished and dignified gentleman with a genial personality; Professor Kelly Miller, who has a wonderful analytical mind; Professor William H. H. Hart, a scholar who has a genius for oratory and politics; Professor John Wesley Cromwell and Mr. George Washington Forbes, learned almost as Samuel Johnson, blending scholarship with common sense; Professor William H. Richards, almost a match for DuBois in scholarship, dignity and polish; Dr. William V. Tunnell, a scholarly gentleman of dignified presence and unusual oratorical gifts, and Dr. William Sinclair, author of "The Aftermath of Slavery."

Then there are J. E. Bruce, the veteran newspaper correspondent, president of the Negro Society for Historical Research; Mr. A. A. Schomburg, learned in Negro history, the secretary for the Negro Society for Historical Research, and such coming scholars as Locke, the Rhodes scholar; R. R. Wright, Jr., and Professor William Pickens; magnetic preachers and orators, such as Bishop Alexander Walters, Bishop Henry M. Turner, Editor Reverdy C. Ransom, Rev. I. N. Ross, Rev. S. L. Corrothers and Hon. John C. Dancy of the Methodist denomination; Dr. J. Milton Waldron, Dr. William H. Creditt, Dr. W. Bishop Johnston and Dr. E. H. Morris of the Baptist denomination; such educators as President William H. Goler and Professor James E. Mason of Livingston College, not to mention the able men among his own admirers, such as Dr. O. M. Waller, Mr. G. B. Wibecan, Professor William Lewis Bulkley, Clement G. Morgan, L. M. Hershaw, and such brilliant admirers of Mr. Washington as Hon. William H. Lewis, Hon. Charles Anderson, and such independents as Assistant Corporation Counsel James D. Carr.

Of these men, Professor Hart, who desired the recognition of his white blood, Professor Miller and Mr. Forbes are as rich in intellectual equipment as DuBois. President Scarborough, Dr. Grimke and Mr. Grimke are peers of DuBois in every respect as scholars, men and gentlemen.

The question is, can DuBois give to each man his measure and due and by so doing maintain his ascendancy?

If he becomes a Zeus, looking down from Mt. Olympus with mingled feelings of pity, sympathy, scorn and contempt upon his benighted brethren in the vale below, he may find that uneasy lies the head that wears a crown. But if he essays to play the rôle of a Prometheus, who brought the divine fire of the gods down to the mortals in the valley below, he will be honored for generations by his own race and find a place in his country's history.

Thus far he has been an unknown quantity as a leader of vast bodies. His failure to make the Niagara movement move should be no criterion by which to judge DuBois, because it was his first attempt at racial leadership and he is now an older and a more experienced man. Let us give him the benefit of the doubt. Perhaps he may learn to size up men and appraise them at their face value.

Despite the thought of Mr. Booker T. Washington and the colored editors and educators who follow him, that an educated Negro should be an educational jack-of-all-trades, Nature is not prodigal in her gifts to man. She very rarely bestows all of her gifts upon any one individual. The ability to manipulate vast bodies of men and lead vast hosts is the rarest of all her gifts. Few men are endowed with the magnetic personality of Samuel Ringo Ward, Frederick Douglass and J. C. Brice. Few men are endowed with the generalship of a Napoleon, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant, Count Von Moltke and James G. Blaine.

Of our brainy colored men, George Washington Forbes of Boston preëminently showed the latter quality during the two years and three months in which he wrote the *Guardian* editorials and mapped out the campaign against Booker T. Washington. The way in which he pressed men of diverse temperaments into service and selected different men for different tasks and utilized means to realize an end indicated that he possessed some of the intellectual gifts that made his namesake famous.

The one thing that the natural-born leaders of men invariably do, some of the colored leaders rarely do. The former draw a man out by conversing with him and hence know him at first

hand. The latter accept the popular estimate of a man, take the estimate formed of him by others and hence know the man at second hand. The natural-born leader of men does not ask to see your letters of introduction or recommendations, or accept the estimate formed of you by the general public, by some society leader or head of a department in some college or university; but he looks you through and through; asks you a few searching and pointed questions, hears what you have to say in your own vindication and then when he has heard both sides of the case renders his decision and issues his edict.

The natural-born leader of men is a judge who never renders a decision until he has heard both the plaintiff and defendant. The quasi-leader of men asks, "Who weigh socially the most and who stand the highest officially?" He either dismisses the case or condemns the defendant accordingly as the plaintiff or defendant stands the highest in the social, educational, ecclesiastical and business world. The natural-born leader of men asks, "What are the *facts* in the case?" The quasi-leader of men asks, "Which one of the parties has the most business prestige or highest social standing?"

If Abraham Lincoln had been a man of the latter type, he would not have retained Grant as commander-in-chief of the Union forces. If Napoleon had been a man of the latter type, he would not have shown such wisdom in selecting his marshals and generals of division.

Now this ability to size up and appraise men, which Jesus of Nazareth, Socrates, Napoleon and Lincoln possessed can rarely be acquired by a man who is a born aristocrat. It can only be acquired by a man sprung from the οἱ πολλοὶ or by a chivalric aristocrat, whose sympathies go out to a self-reliant personality who is struggling against overwhelming odds; by a man whether born in the palace or hut, whether of patrician or plebian birth, who sees into the heart of things, who looks beneath the clothes, the exterior and the surface impression to the soul of the man, who detects qualities and capacities in a man which escape the superficial observer.

Perhaps Dr. DuBois has this genius, this inborn quality of the soul, latent in him, only waiting contact with men on a large scale to bring it out. If such be the case, he will succeed where



Mr. Washington failed, and become the real leader of the colored race in America, by virtue of his grip upon the hearts of his race.

But success intoxicates a man. It so intoxicated Napoleon that he thought of invading England, ordered the executions of Duc d'Enghien and the German printer, Platen, and caused him to lose the flower of the French army in the reckless, fruitless and foolishly executed Moscow campaign. It so intoxicated Booker T. Washington that he imagined that he could corral and dominate the entire colored race in America as easily as he corralled and dominated the Negroes of the black belt of Alabama. It is to be hoped that his marvelous success as a scientific compiler of Negro statistics and Negro data, as a poetic voicer of the black man's striving aspiration and soul hunger, and as a polished and cultured representative of the race in literary and social gatherings, will not cause DuBois likewise to attempt the impossible and believe that welding heterogeneous forces into a homogeneous unity is a holiday task.

But I am not quite sure whether this polished and refined scholar is endowed with the combination of qualities which make one a leader of men. He has the keen intellectual perceptions, the sensitive æsthetic perceptions, which cause one to be a superb literary, musical and art critic and social arbiter. But that very intellectual and æsthetic sensitiveness causes him to be hypersensitive of a jar or discord, and hypercritical. And the leader of men, while conscious of the defects and limitations of a man, sees in him material at his disposal to be utilized as means to realize an end. Thus, they told Abraham Lincoln that Grant drank. Lincoln replied, "But he fights. I wish more of my generals drank of the same brand." They told him that Sherman was crazy, but Lincoln recognized his brilliancy, courage and energy.

I believe that there is more of the Walter Pater than of the Thomas Carlyle in Dr. DuBois. I can conceive of his writing "Marius the Epicurean," "Imaginary Portraits," and "Plato and Platoism." I can even conceive of his writing a book like Emerson's "Representative Men," but I do not know whether he could write a book like Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero Worship." The characters of Odin, Mohammed, Luther, Knox, Cromwell and Samuel Johnson might not have appealed to a

sensitive, finely attuned nature like DuBois. I am afraid that he would have found John the Baptist and the Apostle Paul rather boresome, and I am not quite sure that he would have found Diogenes and Socrates very entertaining, had he been a contemporary of theirs.

There is no doubt that Dr. DuBois is endowed with rare and unique intellectual gifts, that he possesses an inborn manliness and refinement of character, and a superb self-possession, but the question is, Does he possess that combination of traits and qualities which makes one a born ruler and leader of men? Dr. DuBois has admirably performed his part as a critic on the side lines and in the press gallery. But the world is more interested in the hero who crosses the line for a touchdown. He is the Ernest Renan of the Negro race. But the Mirabeaus have been the makers of history. And while I, as a student of psychology, regard Dr. DuBois as an intellectual giant, with the æsthetic sensibility of an artist or poet; as a student of human history, I cannot predict that he will evolve into a leader with faith in God, faith in man and faith in himself, who will breathe his own buoyant, hopeful and heroic spirit into the minds and hearts of his followers; a leader who will fill individuals in his race with the thought that they, too, can climb the mount of human achievement; a leader who will inspire his race to do great things as Oliver Cromwell inspired the Ironsides, as John Wesley inspired the Methodists, as Theodore Parker inspired the Unitarians, as Bishop Wilberforce inspired the friends of abolition, as Mirabeau inspired the French Assembly, as Napoleon inspired the French soldiers by telling them that from the heights of yonder Pyramids forty centuries looked down upon them.

I realize that the race problem in America is one that requires the tact and good sense, the wisdom and discretion, the caution and patience of an Abraham Lincoln; but still it is true of any race that no man can dominate the race unless he is able to rouse the ambition, hope and enthusiasm that slumbers in every man.

But we should not pronounce a man a failure simply because he cannot become a second Abraham Lincoln, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass and J. C. Price. We should remember that great leaders of men like Hannibal, Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Cromwell, Napoleon, Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, Mirabeau, Bismarck, Chatham, Gladstone, Webster, Sum-

ner, Washington, Lincoln, John Wesley, Bishop Phillips Brooks, Toussaint L'Ouverture and King Menelik do not grow upon every briar bush. Then, too, we should remember that the Negro educator who propounded the doctrine that every educated colored man should be an educational jack-of-all-trades himself succeeded admirably in a large task of industrial leadership of a certain section of the country and failed in the more colossal task of national leadership, because he couldn't awaken the dormant manhood of his race and kindle the flames of aspiration in the hearts of the youth of his race, although he continuously for a period of nearly eighteen years concentrated his time, energy and surplus funds upon that task.

The men of universal genius like Julius Cæsar, who was a society gallant, a grammarian, an orator, a politician, a statesman, a jurist, a general, a ruler, an architect, an engineer, a historian and a poet, are as rare in human history as are the Aristotles, the Newtons, the Bacons and the Shakespeares.

I believe that Cæsar even would have failed had he attempted to play Aristotle's rôle. The latter would have failed had he attempted to play Cæsar's rôle. Cromwell would have lost out had he attempted to write the "Paradise Lost"; John Milton would have lost out had he attempted to command the armies of the Commonwealth. Newton would have cut a sorry figure had he attempted to write the plays of Shakespeare; and Shakespeare would have floundered had he attempted to write the "Principia." Gladstone would have struck a snag had he attempted to write the "Origin of Species," and Darwin would have waded beyond his depth had he attempted to become a parliamentary leader. Similarly we cannot expect any one Negro to be omniscient and omnipotent. And we cannot expect to find any one colored man who will be an Aristotle and a Julius Cæsar rolled into one; or a Cromwell and John Milton rolled into one; or a Newton and Shakespeare rolled into one; or a Darwin and Gladstone rolled into one. The gifted individuals in the race like Toussaint L'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass, J. C. Price, Booker T. Washington and Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois are especially endowed to perform a few but not all and every task well.

The history of civilization shows that the type of personality represented by Montaigne, Ernest Renan, Mark Pattison, Coventry Patmore, Walter Pater and Dr. DuBois has played a part and

an important one in the cultural history of mankind. But their very fineness and sensitiveness of organization prevented their swaying the masses and thus becoming dynamic factors and forces in human progress. The history of human thought shows also that the doubting Thomases act as a sort of brake or check to optimists and idealists and that they are society's safety valves. They have a place, and by no means an insignificant one, in the economy of the universe. But it is men with the crusading zeal of Paul, Mohammed, Peter the Hermit, Luther, John Wesley, General Booth, John Calvin, John Knox, Oliver Cromwell, Bishop Wilberforce, Samuel Adams, and William Lloyd Garrison and David Livingston who have launched the world movements in human history and set in motion currents of thought and feeling that are flowing still.

So we may conclude our discussion of Dr. DuBois by saying that while his is a remarkable personality, in fact one of the most remarkable personalities thus far evolved by the colored race, it is not such a powerful personality that it holds the destiny of the colored race in its hands.

Casely Hayford, barrister-at-law at Secundi, West Africa, and author of "Gold Coast Native Institutions," refers to Dr. DuBois as seeking to promote the black man's "social enfranchisement amid surroundings and in an atmosphere uncongenial to racial development." And DuBois has been criticized for desiring the social as well as the civil and political recognition of the colored man.

As a matter of fact, the Negro desires social, civil and political recognition because he is human, and because every human being desires social, civil and political recognition. Every true man desires first to be a man and then desires his fellows to recognize the fact that he is a man. Every human being who has tastes and desires above the brute, desires to be somebody, and desires other human beings to recognize the fact that he is somebody. And the desire of Dr. DuBois, which is so passionately and eloquently expressed in "The Souls of Black Folks," is for the world to recognize the humanity of the black man. But there are a few things that colored men who are striving for recognition should bear in mind.

## CLOSING REFLECTIONS.

We are ostracised, despised, segregated and persecuted as a race in America, regarded as an inferior social unit and imprisoned within certain caste limitations because we have no grand and glorious history behind us in this country, because we have produced few illustrious and distinguished men, because we have made few contributions to the world's civilization or stock of ideas, because we lack prestige and standing. We are in the position of a man who is comparatively obscure and unknown. When he is obscure and unknown, he has to come to the world; when he acquires prestige and standing, the world will come to him; when he is in humble circumstances, he seeks other men; when he becomes distinguished, other men seek him; when he is only regarded as a common, ordinary man, when he is toiling in obscurity and mediocrity and living a lowly life, he does not even dream of being invited to the banquet in honor of a great man. But when he becomes famous, the rich and haughty, the proud and the aristocratic will vie with each other in lionizing him and giving banquets and receptions in his honor. To secure recognition this poor unknown youth must secure prestige and standing. That is what the African abroad, evolving in western civilization, must do.

It seems to me that since the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon towards the Negro is the determining factor in the latter's evolution and development in this country, it is of vital importance for the colored man to know what is the white man's estimate of him. No friend has spoken kinder words of the colored man than Mr. H. G. Wells, the distinguished English novelist, in his article upon "The Tragedy of Color in America," in *Harper's Weekly*, September, 1906, and upon "Race Prejudice," in the *Independent*, February, 1907. He says towards the close of his splendid article in *Harper's Weekly*:

Whatever America has to show in heroic living to-day, I doubt if she can show anything finer than the quality of the resolve, the steadfast effort, hundreds of black and colored men are making to-day to live blamelessly, honorably and patiently, getting for themselves what scraps of refinement, learning and beauty they may, keeping their hold on a civilization they are grudging and denied. They do it not for themselves only, but for all their race. Each educated colored man is an ambassador to civilization. They know they have a handicap, that they

are not exceptionally brilliant or clever people. Yet every such man stands, one likes to think, aware of his representative and vicarious character, fighting against foul imaginations, misrepresentations, injustice, insult and the naïve, unspeakable meanness of base antagonists. Every one of them who keeps decent and honorable does a little to beat that opposition down.

So the man who said the finest thing that has been said of the colored people, in recent years, says of them, "They know that they are not exceptionally brilliant or clever people." It seems to me to be a matter of vital importance for the colored race to change the world's estimate of it by producing gifted and distinguished men. In order to gain recognition, the colored race must produce men and women who can stamp the impress of their personalities upon the world.

The Hebrew race gives a practical illustration regarding the overcoming of race prejudice. It produced philosophers like Spinoza and Henri Bergson, poets like Heine, statesmen like Disraeli, financiers like Rothschild, Baron Hirsh, Jacob H. Schiff and Julius Rosenwald, brilliant preachers like Rabbi Fleischer, Rabbi Wise and Rabbi Levy, and citizens prominent in business and public affairs like the late Mr. Mayer Zunder, Mr. Max Adler and Colonel Isaac M. Ullman of New Haven, Conn. The colored race can profit by the example set by the brilliant Hebrew race.

The colored race in America cannot hope or expect to change its social, civil, political and economic status in a day or generation. It took the Maker of the Universe millions of years to evolve our solar system out of primeval mist and chaos and render it fit for the habitation of man. Scientists tell us that it has taken mankind over two million years to evolve from the primitive cave man to the present civilized individual. The process through which a recently transported and recently enfranchised race absorbs and assimilates the civilization of a dominant race and changes the psychological attitude of the dominant race towards it is necessarily a long, slow, painful and laborious one. So Father Time, who heals all wounds and soothes all bruises, will ultimately accomplish what Brother Booker confidently hoped to bring to pass by a few clever speeches. Hampton Institute, Lincoln University, Wilberforce University and kindred institutions and the Society for the Advancement of Colored People will speed

the day, but we must regard it as "a divine, far-off event, towards which the whole creation moves." Meanwhile the colored man must possess his soul with patience.

It might be well for those within the veil who feel the pressure of caste prejudice not only to plead the cause of the Negro in the abstract, but to aid the colored brother in the concrete. For the Hebrew race has won its way not only because it has produced brilliant philosophers, scholars, writers, preachers, financiers and statesmen, but because those who had reached the sun-crowned summits of achievement were ready and willing to lend a helping hand to those of their brethren who were struggling up the heights. I am inclined to believe that the world will listen to the black man's plea when he extends towards his brother that sympathy that he asks the world to extend towards him.

I know some will say that we must not expect as much from the Negro, only two or three centuries removed from savagery and with only fifty years of freedom, as from the Anglo-Saxon who has had fifteen centuries of Christianity, ten centuries of political and civil freedom and five centuries of culture. But unless black men themselves appreciate the intellectual achievements of black men, all the effusive effervescence, the rhetorical outbursts and poetical rhapsodies about "The Souls of Black Folk" will avail naught. This is the motto that should be engraved over the door of every Negro church and schoolhouse in the country: "Every distinguished colored man sheds the lustre of his achievements over the entire colored race."

#### OTHER COLORED GRADUATES.

Miss Guinn of New Bedford, Mass., graduated from Radcliffe College in 1913, receiving a *cum laude*. Mrs. E. F. Goins of New Haven, Conn., is an Oberlin graduate. Miss Otelia Cromwell of Washington, D. C., is a Smith graduate. Miss Mary Cromwell is a University of Michigan graduate. Hon. James D. Carr, assistant corporation counsel of New York City, is a Phi Beta Kappa man of Rutgers College. Prof. Geo. E. Haynes is a Ph.D. of Columbia. Mr. Newton G. Gilbert won the "Baldwin Greek prize" in Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. Rev. E. F. Goins, pastor of the Dixwell Avenue Church, New Haven, Conn., is an A.B. Oberlin and a B.D. of Yale. Rev. H. O. Bowles of the St. Luke's Episcopal Church of New Haven is an M.A. of Yale.

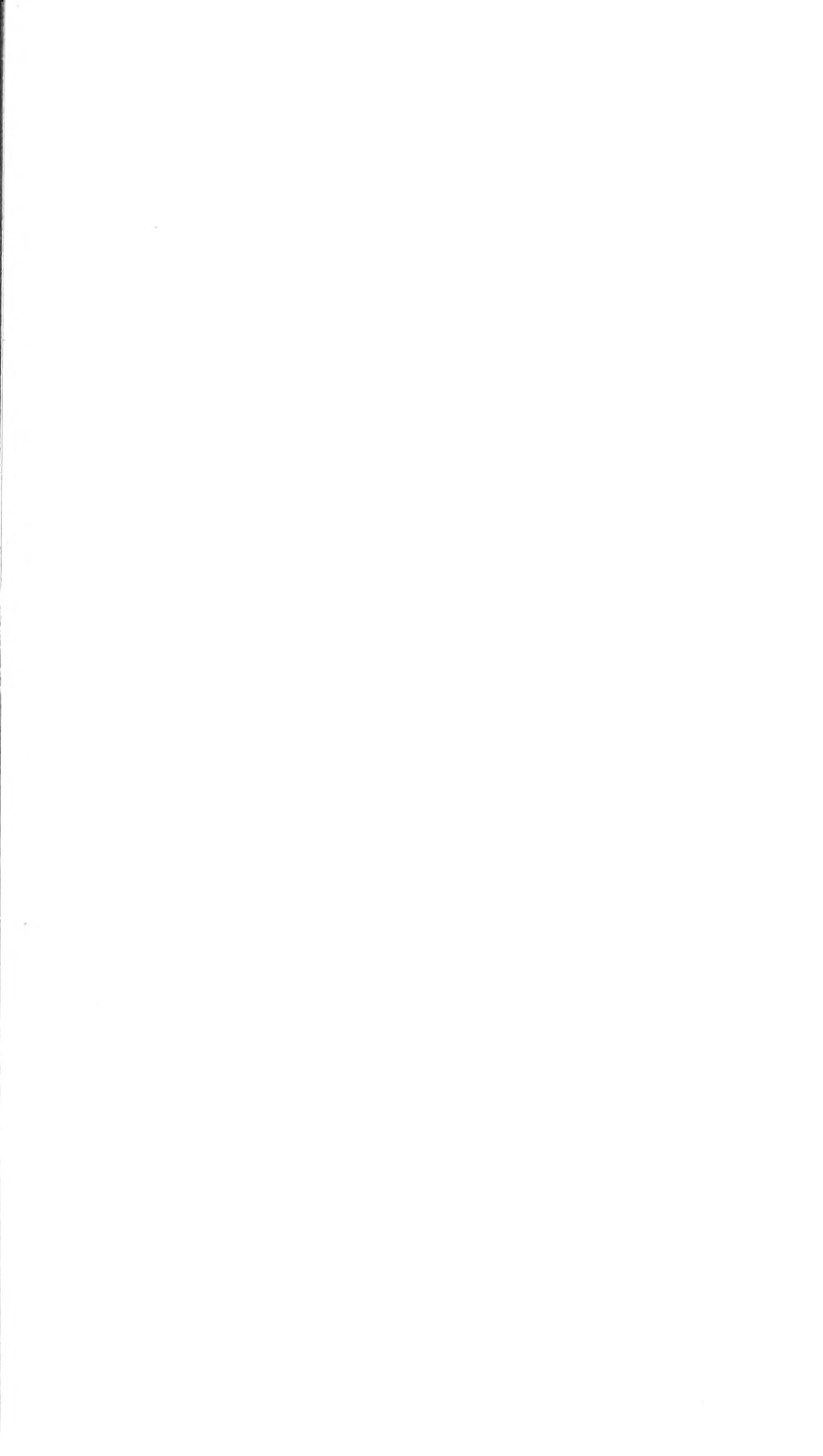




## PART VI.

THE FORTY GREATEST NEGROES IN HISTORY AND WHO'S WHO IN THE NEGRO HALL OF FAME—THE FORTY COLORED IMMORTALS.







DUSE MOHAMED, EFFENDI

of London, Editor of *The African Times and Orient Review*, writer of the "Hull Coronation Ode," etc.



HON. JAMES C. SMITH

Ex-Postmaster-General of Sierra Leone, and author of several books on economics



EMPEROR MENELIK OF ABYSSINIA

whose subjects annihilated an army of 28,000 Italians in the pass of Adowa in 1896



SIR WILLIAM CONRAD REEVES

Chief Justice of Barbadoes, who was knighted by Queen Victoria

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### *Introduction to the Forty Colored Immortals—The Eminent Colored Men who Almost Reached the Pinnacle of Fame and Almost Found a Place in the Negro Hall of Fame.*

Now we come to the most momentous question in the entire book. We estimate the possibilities of a race by the men of transcendent genius and transcendent character in it, by the men whose deeds and achievements register the high-water mark of racial endeavor. Who are the forty men of Negro descent, living or dead, whose achievements measure the intellectual, moral and physical possibilities of the colored race? Who are the forty men, whose actual achievement along definite and prescribed lines was so unique and individual and has made such a distinct impression upon the country and the world that we may justly regard them as the forty intellectual luminaries? If Thomas Nelson Page should ask me, "Who are the men whose attainment and achievement in scholarship, literature, law, medicine, war, theology and the world of invention were such that you would determine the intellectual status of the race by them?" I would name forty. These men of color are: in the field of war and statesmanship, King Thothmes I and King Amenhotep III of Egypt; Mohammed Askia, the African Charlemagne; Colonel Henry Diaz of Brazil; Oge of San Domingo; Toussaint L'Ouverture; General Ibrahim Hannibal of Russia; Chevalier St. George, General Alexander Dumas, General Alfred Amedée Dodds of France, and Emperor Menelik of Abyssinia; in the field of scholarship, Ahmed Baba and Abderrahman Sadi of Timbuctoo; Juan Latino, Amo, Capitein, Francis Williams, Geoffrey L'Islet, Julien Raimond, Benjamin Banneker, Bishop Adjai Crowther and Sarbah; in the fields of literature, art and music, Phyllis Wheatley, Alexander Dumas *père*, Poushkin, Alexander Dumas  *fils*, A. C. G. Crespo, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Higienmonte, Sebastian Gomez, and Duse Mohamed; in the field of theology, Miguel Kapranzine and Rev. Lemuel Haynes; in the field of administration and leadership, Hon. Richard Hill,

Hon. James Carmichael Smith, Paul Cuffe, Rev. Alexander Crummell, Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden and Frederick Douglass; in the field of law, Sir William Conrad Reeves.

In ability, achievement, and character, some of these men did not actually surpass a few of the colored men now living. But so often has posterity reversed the judgment of contemporaries that I hesitate to speak the final word of the living, except in the case of General Alfred Amedée Dodds, whose dazzling military achievements have given him not nation-wide but world-wide prominence; Duse Mohamed and James C. Smith.

I have seen Fate play havoc with some of the favorites of Fortune during the past five years. Five years ago, Theodore Roosevelt, the popular President, forced the nomination of William H. Taft upon the National Republican Convention and hurled him on to a glorious victory. Five years ago to-day, William Jennings Bryan was girding up his loins to lead his forces to a third defeat and to a seeming Waterloo. To-day Theodore Roosevelt's political power is an unknown quantity, while Bryan is Secretary of State, after having, by his generalship, brought about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson.

Four years ago to-day, William Howard Taft was sitting in the White House, after having won the presidential election by such a handsome vote that his reelection seemed a predestined certainty. Four years ago to-day Woodrow Wilson was a not over-popular president of Princeton University. I had never read or heard his name mentioned in connection with political or presidential aspirations. To-day Mr. Taft is a professor in the Yale Law School and Mr. Wilson is President of the United States.

So it has been with eminent colored men. Five years ago to-day, I wrote a eulogistic chapter upon Booker T. Washington. But his position has so shifted on the chess board of fortune during the past five years and he has so shrunk in the world's regard that I have been compelled to omit it from my book. Regarding the living, we cannot speak with apodictic certainty.

Some of my forty colored immortals were no more gifted, talented, brilliant and versatile than a score of others I might have mentioned; but the circumstances of the lives of the latter did not enable them to stand out prominently as history-makers

as did the fortunate forty. Personally, I have more admiration for the fertile and resourceful intellect of a Thomas B. Miller, who turns everything he touches into gold and succeeds as a farmer, lawyer, politician, educator, and writer, and for a versatile genius like Professor William H. H. Hart of Howard University, who is a scholar, orator, lawyer, business man and politician rolled into one than for the mind of a lawyer like Morris, who, by concentrating his talents along a prescribed line, has a law practice paying him nearly \$25,000 a year. But the world may think differently, and I do not know at present whether I weigh enough intellectually to set at naught the consensus of opinion of cultured men. There was a time when the versatile, accomplished scholar was admired the most; but now the preference is given to the man who knows more about one particular subject than any other man, who can do some one thing better than any other man in the world. There was a time when Julius Cæsar, who was a statesman, general, governor, jurist, grammarian, architect, orator and writer, was regarded as the ideal man. There was a time when Goethe, who was a reflective poet, a lyric poet, a dramatic poet, a novelist, a critic of art and literature, a philosopher, a scientist and a man of affairs was regarded as the ideal scholar. But this is the age of specialists. New Testament Greek scholars like ex-President Timothy Dwight of Yale University and the late Professor Thayer of the Harvard Divinity School, church historians like Harnack of Germany, psychologists like Munsterberg of Harvard, represent the present ideal of scholarship and are sought after by the big universities.

In the world of affairs, men like Elihu Root, who, by focusing their powers, become the recognized leaders of their chosen profession, are the men in the public eye and occupy the most space in the newspapers.

The men who, by concentrating their talents and focusing their energy in one definite direction, have performed some one feat or done some one task exceptionally well, are the men whose achievements have dazzled the eye of mankind. Thus it has been with the forty colored immortals.

There are several men who are said to have had a strain of Negro blood in their veins, whom I omit from my list of the forty greatest Negroes in history. They are Æsop,

Terence, Amenhotep I, Sakanouye Tamuramaro, Nastusenén, Leo Africanus, Robert Browning, Alexander Hamilton, General Lew Wallace, Timrod, General Boulanger and General Dugoumier.

I suppose those who claim that Terence was a Negro base their claims upon the fact that he came from Africa. But thousands of Egyptians, Arabians and Carthaginians lived in Africa and they were not Negroes. His sobriquet was "Afer" (the African). He was born in Carthage about 195 B. C. That proves nothing definitely, because there may have been a strain of Negro blood in his veins or he may have been a pure Carthaginian. Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A., says: "There is a life of him ascribed to Suetonius; but more probably written by the grammarian Donatus." The Romans employed the term African both to Negroes and to any one who came from Africa.

Professor Chamberlain says that the mothers of Amenhotep I and Amenhotep III, the latter of whom built the great temple of Ammon at Luxor and erected the Menmonian colossi, were Negresses. He mentioned Nefert-ari, wife of Aahmes, as the mother of the former, and Mutemua, wife of Thothmes IV, as the mother of the latter. But as Amenhotep I, the hunter, was surpassed in achievements by his famous son, Thothmes I, the mighty conquering Egyptian king, I will reserve the fuller discussion of his mother and son to a later chapter.

Professor Chamberlain also refers to Sakanouye Tamuramaro, the general who led the Japanese in ancient times northward against the Ainu, a tribe of aborigines, as a Negro. But as he lived in such a dim and distant past and was such a shadowy figure, I will exempt him from the list of the forty greatest Negroes in history.

There seems to be as much obscurity surrounding the birth of Æsop, the famous writer of fables, as there is regarding the nativity of Homer. Seven cities claimed to be his birthplace, and Æsop has been assigned to more than one race. The Biographical Dictionary says that Æsop was born B. C. 619, and was a Phrygian slave, who obtained his freedom, was welcomed by Cræsus, king of Lydia, offended the Delphians by his sarcasm, and was put to death. The Encyclopædia Britannica speaks of Æsop as follows:



Æsop, the fabulist, is supposed to have been born about the year 620 B. C., but the place of his birth is uncertain, that honor having been claimed alike, by Samos, Sardis, Mesembria in Thrace, and Catiaum in Phrygia. He was brought while young to Athens as a slave, and having served several masters was eventually enfranchised by Iadmou the Samian. . . . The obscurity in which the history of Æsop is involved has induced some to deny his existence altogether. . . . The identification of Æsop with the Arabian philosopher and fabulist Lokman (who is made by some traditions the contemporary of the psalmist David) has frequently been attempted, and the Persian accounts of Lokman, which among other things, describe him as an ugly black slave, appear to have been blended by the author of the life published by Plaundes, with the classical stories respecting Æsop.

The ground for the contention that Æsop was a Negro comes from the fact that the terms Æsop and Æthiope both originally came from the Greek verb *αἵθω*, meaning "to burn," and it has been claimed that the Greeks called him Æsop for the same reason that they called the inhabitants of Ethiopia Ethiopians, meaning that he as well as they had been burnt black by the sun.

Nastasenew, the black king of Ethiopia, who graciously received the envoys of King Cambyses of Persia, must have been a potent Oriental figure; but I have not enough reliable information regarding him to definitely pronounce judgment upon his career.

Leo Africanus was called John Leo, a Moor, but the term was applied in the Middle Ages both to Berbers, Mohammedans, Negroes and Arabo-Berbers, so at this time it is still an open question with me.

It has also been claimed that Alexander Hamilton, the American statesman; Robert Browning the English poet; Timrod, the South Carolina poet; General Lew Wallace, the author of "Ben Hur," had Negro blood coursing through their veins, their great-grandmothers being mulattoes; thus making them one-sixteenth Negro. Daniel Murray also asserts that a strain of Negro blood courses through the veins of Empress Josephine. Alexander Hamilton and Robert Browning were both born in the West Indies. Gertrude Atherton proved to her own satisfaction in the *North American Review* that Hamilton's mother was a Miss Fawcett of England. But she has never explained away the fact that nearly every white and colored person she talked with

in the West Indies regarding Hamilton exclaimed, "But you know he was colored." The ground for contention regarding Browning resided in his swarthy complexion and heavy features. I believe it is claimed that his great grandmother or great-great-grandmother was a Negress. There was sufficient gossip regarding his nationality to cause one of his biographers to devote nearly two pages to proving that no Negro blood coursed through his veins. But I have not enough evidence in hand to pronounce definite judgment. The same may be said regarding Timrod, General Lew Wallace, the Empress Josephine and General Boulanger, after whom the Boulanger march was named.

Philip Hale, in his article, "As the World Wags," in the *Boston Herald*, September 17, 1912, says: "There was Negro blood in Charles Cros." He also states that Samuel Coleridge-Taylor believed that there was a strain of Negro blood in Beethoven, the mighty musician, who was a contemporary of two famous colored violinists of European fame. As I have been unable thus far to verify these statements, I render no decision.

And now we come to an amazing contention. Daniel Murray, assistant librarian of Congress, editor-in-chief of the "Encyclopædia of the Negro Race," claims that General Jean François Coquille Dugomier, the hero of the sieges of Martinique and Toulon, and under whom Napoleon fought at Toulon; who was commander of the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, who commanded 60,000 men at St. Sebastian, November 18, 1784, who was killed in November, 1794, at the battle of Sierra Negro, near Figuières, whose name decorated the Arc de Triomphe, by order of Napoleon Bonaparte, and whose son was remembered in the will of Napoleon, was of Negro descent. I do not know the exact foundation of this claim. Cassell's Biographical Dictionary asserts that he was born in 1736 in the Isle of Gaudeloupe.

As many races lived on the Isle of Guadeloupe, the statement that he was a native of that place conveys no definite knowledge regarding his nationality. I presume that Mr. Murray has grounds for claiming that there was Negro blood in the famous Dugomier. But it does seem strange that a man of his eminence and prominence could play so important a part in the French Revolution and still no mention be made of his having been of Negro descent.

And now we are getting down out of the cloudland of speculation to the *terra firma* of solid fact. We are now to deal, not with men with regard to whose race we are in doubt, but with men regarding whose race there is no doubt, whose careers are the subject of discussion.

General Ossip Hannibal, General Louis Delgres, President Dessalines and LeConte of Hayti are four men whom I would have liked to have included in my chapters upon the Negro as a hero and statesmen, but who are surpassed in achievements by Thothmes I and Amenhotep III of Egypt, Toussaint L'Ouverture of Hayti, General Ibrahim Hannibal of Russia, General Alexander Dumas and General Alfred Amedée Dodds of France and King Menelik of Abyssinia.

General Ossip Hannibal attained military and civil distinction in Russia. But the fact that he had his father's prestige and reputation to build upon and the fact that his wife separated from him on the ground of bigamy, has dimmed his reputation. General Louis Delgres, the heroic defender of Gaudeloupe in 1807, is worthy of note; but the fact that he was not associated with world movements in history, as was General Alexander Dumas and General Alfred Dodds, causes his name to pale into insignificance before that of the famous French mulatto and the famous quadroon.

Emperor Dessalines, who made the independence of Hayti a reality, was a born fighting man. He blended the courage of a Marshal Ney with the energy and ferocity of an Attila. After Toussaint was captured, carried to France and left to languish and die in a French prison, Dessalines became an incarnate spirit of vengeance and fell upon the French hip and thigh. He crowded them. He followed them up. He gave no quarter and asked none. He clinched and made permanent the splendid victories of Toussaint. He was the Joshua, Toussaint the Moses, of the Haytien revolt. But the master mind, who marshaled a mass of slaves into a formidable army, who first taught them to know the strength of their arm and to feel the exultation of victory and who shaped the form of government, was the immortal Toussaint. And Dessalines thus yields place to a more massive intellect, to a mightier spirit. Toussaint was the one who first caught the spirit of liberty that was sweeping over Martinique,

San Domingo and Hayti during the closing years of the eighteenth century, crystallized it, and caused it to assume permanent form and shape.

President LeConte, who was killed in the gunpowder explosion which blew up the Haytien National Palace, was said to have been the ablest president Hayti has seen since the days of the immortal Toussaint. It was unfortunate that he did not live to realize the high hopes entertained of him.

Mr. Daniel Murray mentions Generals Antoine Cloulatte and Martial Besse, each created brigadier-general by the French Convention in October, 1795, at the same time Napoleon Bonaparte was, as a reward in defending the convention against the Paris mob; General Jean Baptiste Lapointe, the only colored general who served in the British army, and Captain John Perkins and Captain John Nesbit, "the only two colored officers gazetted in the British navy," among his heroes; but as I could not find sufficient data regarding these men, I cannot pronounce definitely regarding their careers.

While Ignatius Sancho, Gustavus Vassa, and Gugoano were remarkable, they did not stand out as beacon lights as did Amo, Capitein and Francis Williams. The fact that Amo's philosophical works attracted the attention of the universities of Halle and Wittenberg, the fact that Capitein's elegies in Latin attracted the attention of the universities of Hague and Leyden, and the fact that Francis Williams's elegies in Latin attracted the attention of the university of Cambridge, gave these three Negroes European fame in the eighteenth century and caused them to stand forth for a century and a half as demonstrators of the intellectual capacity of the Negro.

It may seem unkind to omit the name of Placido, the Cuban poet, who in the years following 1842 planned an insurrection of the slaves which failed, who calmly went to a martyr's death, and who recited a hymn of his own composition at the place of execution before the soldiers fired the fatal shot. But in Oge of San Domingo, the patriot and martyr who led a movement for civil and political liberty in San Domingo in 1751, who was broken on the wheel, and the account of whose heroic life and death is found on pages 326 to 330 of Vol. I of Lamartine's work, "The Girondists," we have not only a man over whose brow a

martyr's halo was shed, but a man who ushered in a movement which did not die with his death, but which resulted in the freedom of Hayti. He was John the Baptist, the forerunner of Toussaint L'Ouverture. He kindled the spark which burst into the flame of the Haytien revolt.

George Aug. Polegreen Bridgetower, the famous London violinist, the friend of Beethoven, the protégée of the Prince of Wales, the man whose skill with the bow dazzled England and Vienna, and who distinguished himself at the Haydn, Salomon and Barthlesmon concerts, has given place to Ira Aldridge, the tragedian, who played Othello to Kean's Iago, who captivated Covent Garden, the Surrey Theatre in England, who dazzled Amsterdam, Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, the Hague, Konigsberg, Dresden, Frankfort-on-the-Main and other European towns, who received decorations from the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, and who was made a member of the Prussian Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg; and to the Chevalier Sainte Georges, whom Talleyrand pronounced the most gifted individual he had ever met and whom Louis XVI knighted. Colonel Sainte Georges was as gifted a musician as Aldridge was an actor and Daniel Murray says that he was as gifted with the violin as Bridgetower and much his superior in general musical ability and fame. In addition to being the most popular musical performer of Paris, he was also the most accomplished swordsman of France. It is rare in history to find a man equally distinguished with the bow and the foil. The Negro race has never produced his superior as a gladiator or a musician.

In assigning places in history to athletes, actors and musical performers, we must not mistake transient popularity for permanent fame. An athlete, actor and musical virtuoso is only applauded while he is in the limelight; when he retires he is soon forgotten and interest centers in a new star.

Bridgetower died in 1860. He dropped completely out of sight during the last twelve years of his life. Although he died in South London, no one knew when and where he died. For nearly fifty years his admirers sought information regarding his place and death, and their patience was not rewarded until March, 1908. That is the fate of a musical entertainer. We cannot con-

ceive of a man who has been conspicuous as a statesman, scholar, philosopher, preacher and educator dropping so completely out of sight that the time and place of his death was not discovered until nearly fifty years after his death.

I do not know whether getting applause as an entertainer is in reality breaking down race prejudice and crossing the color line. I remember that Williams & Walker's Bandana Land packed one of New York's theatres for a season's engagement; that two colored musicians and comedians made a hit in Keith's Theatre, Boston; that in the summer of 1912 the Narragansett Pier Casino hired a troupe of colored musical entertainers for an entire season; that Newport millionaires frequently pressed into service a colored quartette from New York, and I also recall that in March, 1901, the Casino of St. Augustine, Fla., was crowded to its utmost capacity to witness the annual cakewalk. So when I hear an English writer of 1856 saying of Aldridge, "In farce he is exceedingly amusing . . . as there is not a darker frown than his, there is not a broader grin. The ecstasy of his long, shrill note in 'Possum up a Gum Tree' can be equalled only by the agony of his cry of despair over the body of Desdemona," I question whether he was more than a great entertainer.

Even in slavery days, the darkey who could play monkey, who could sing and dance or pick the banjo and play the fiddle, was popular with his master. While musical and artistic performers do break down the barrier between the races, we cannot exactly call them—picturesque and entertaining as they are—great figures in history, dynamic forces in human progress.

Winning the favor of the dominant race by entertaining it and cheering an idle moment is not by any means to be despised, but it is not the sort of quality of recognition which Bishop Crowther received when Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity and which Sir William Conrad Reeves received when he was made chief justice of Barbadoes and when he was knighted by the queen for solid attainments, achievements and accomplishments.

Still we must recognize that Aldridge received honors from the most celebrated European monarchs and from the most learned societies of Europe such as few white tragedians ever have. He rose not to a high but to the topmost notch of his profession.

He crossed the barrier of the color line and his dramatic genius made the world forget the color of his skin.

Mentor's career as orator and statesman was distinguished; but Geoffrey L'Islet and Julien Raimond produced works which kept their memory green after they had passed from the scene of action.

The careers of Dr. James Derham, Dr. LeGrasse, Charles Lennox Remond, Charles L. Reason, Dr. James McCune Smith, George B. Vashon, Hon. Ebenezer Bassett, the most illustrious principal of the Institute for Colored Youth and the first United States minister to Hayti, were interesting, but they did not attain the international fame that Benjamin Banneker, Bishop Adjai Crowther, Dr. Alexander Crummell and Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden did.

Edward M. Bannister, the painter, has done some splendid work in his line, but did not attain the world fame of Phyllis Wheatley, Alexander Poushkin, Alexander Dumas *père*, Alexander Dumas *fils*, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor and Higiemonte.

No history of the Negro race could be complete without reference to the work of the Negro pulpit, which has exercised a psychological influence. While I appreciate the work of Richard Allen in founding African Methodism, of Richard Varick in founding African Zion Methodism, and of James Hood in developing Zion Methodism; while I appreciate the colossal intellect and Titan personality of Bishop Henry M. Turner, and while I value the varied religious, missionary, racial and political activity of Bishop Alexander Walters, I still regard Dr. Miguel Kapranzine, Rev. Lemuel Haynes, Bishop Daniel A. Payne, and Rev. Dr. Alexander Crummell of Washington, D. C., as the four greatest figures in the Negro church. While not classified among the forty colored immortals of world fame, Bishop Payne was still a great man.

Miguel Kapranzine won renown as a theologian in Goa in 1670.

Although born in the middle of the eighteenth century, in the period of the French and Indian war, when the status of many Negroes in the North was that of a slave, Rev. Lemuel Haynes pastored a white church, published sermons on Genesis 3 and 4 that passed through nine or ten editions, had a controversy with

Hosea Ballou that attracted the attention of the religious world, and in 1804, when fifty-three years old, received the A.M. degree from Middlebury College. In the closing years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century, he found the color line no bar to his advancement.

Bishop Daniel A. Payne, the founder and first president of Wilberforce University, I regard as the greatest intellectual and moral force evolved by the great A. M. E. Church. He, more than any other Negro bishop of any denomination, recognized the need and value of ripe scholarship and puritanic moral fibre in the Negro pulpit. He, together with Dr. Alexander Crummell, the Episcopalian divine whose work as a scholar and race leader equalled his work as a minister, and Dr. Francis J. Grimke, the Presbyterian divine of Washington, D. C., now living, have been the three ripe scholars and uncompromising idealists in the Negro pulpit. Intellectually and morally they measure up to Bishop Phillips Brooks of the Episcopal, and Richard Salter Storrs of the Congregational Church.

Judge George L. Ruffin of Boston, Mass., James Forten, R. Brown Elliott and J. C. Price each in his way performed his task. Judge Ruffin and Mr. Forten were men of noble character. They powerfully impressed the State in which they lived. But I could not regard them as men of world fame. Samuel Ringgold Ward impressed both England and America, while William Howard Day is the Edward Everett Hale of the Negro race, the scholar whose finished eloquence took captive Cleveland, Ohio; Harrisburg, Pa.; Dublin, Ireland; Edinburgh, Scotland, and London. Yet neither shaped or dominated legislation as George T. Downing did. R. Brown Elliott almost rose to Websterian fame in his famous civil rights speech in the House of Representatives on January 6, 1874. But he did not later sustain that soaring oratorical flight by a strenuous life. President J. C. Price, the founder of Livingston College, started on a career as educator and orator that promised to give him undying fame, but, like Bishop William Dickerson of the A. M. Church, he was cut off just as he was about to rise to his highest flight, with his life work unfinished. He left no great sermons or orations behind him, as Demosthenes, Cicero, Burke, Webster, Phillips and Storrs did. Whether his national fame will live when those who have sat



under the spell of his matchless eloquence have crossed the bar, I do not know. In his own denomination he will be revered for ages to come. The teachers and students of the institution of learning that he founded will keep his memory green for generations.

The future historian will undoubtedly enroll President William S. Scarborough, Professor Kelly Miller, Dr. F. J. Grimke, Hon. Archibald H. Grimke, Joseph White, Edmonia Lewis and Henry M. Tanner among the colored immortals. Dr. DuBois will live in history as a sociologist and literary genius, and I trust that he will develop as a race leader.

I repeat what I said at the beginning of this book, I am not creating but discovering values. And the forty colored immortals I have selected do not necessarily transcend a score or two of other talented colored men in character and ability; but they are men who have so impressed their own and succeeding ages that in reading books and magazines and newspapers or talking with men "whose names," in the terse and trenchant words of the late Senator O. H. Platt of Connecticut, "ought to carry weight," I find them referred to in eulogistic terms. What a university does when it confers an LL.D. degree upon a scholar or statesman or financier, that I have endeavored to do; I have merely investigated the careers of eminent Negroes and report my findings.

FOOT NOTE.—There are three remarkable colored men of national, but not of world, fame, who I would like to have included in my list of "Forty Colored Immortals."

Robert Purvis was the only colored man to sign the Declaration of the First American Anti-Slavery Convention in Philadelphia in 1833. He was an Apollo Belvedere in face and figure, an eloquent speaker and a gentleman of wealth, who risked his life and spent large sums of money aiding fugitive slaves.

George F. Downing was a man of herculean physique and heroic spirit, a resourceful business man, a powerful effector of legislation and ever generous in appreciating the worth of his colored contemporaries.

Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, born in Kent County, Md., December 23, 1815, rivalled Douglass as an orator, and surpassed him as a scholar. On February 12, 1865, he held religious services in the House of Representatives. He was the first colored man to be so honored. He died February 14, 1882, while United States Minister to Liberia.

## CHAPTER L.

### *The Negro as Hero-King—Thothmes I of Egypt and King Amenhotep III of Egypt.*

Now we come to the most amazing assertion in the book. Researches seem to show that King Thothmes I of Egypt, the most illustrious monarch of the eighteenth dynasty, which stretched from 1700 to 1500 B. C., the man made famous by his Nubian conquests, his Syrian and Mesopotamian wars, and his monuments, the man who brought Egypt out of her isolation and made her a world force, launching her upon a career of conquest and empire, the man whom Rawlinson calls the first great warrior king, was a quadroon or one-fourth Negro.

My attention was first called to the line of investigation that led me to this conclusion by Dr. Alexander Francis Chamberlain's pamphlet upon "The Contribution of the Negro to Human Civilization." Dr. Chamberlain is professor of anthropology in Clark University, Worcester, Mass. The pamphlet in question was reprinted from "The Journal of Race Development," Vol. I, No. 4, April, 1911. On page 483 of that Journal, Professor Chamberlain says:

Nefert-ari, the famous Queen of Aahmes, the King of Egypt, who drove the Hyksos from the land and founded the eighteenth dynasty (ca. 1700 B. C.), was a Negress of great beauty, strong personality, and remarkable administrative ability. She was for years associated in the government of her son, Amenhotep I, who succeeded his father. Queen Nefert-ari was highly venerated and many monuments were erected in her honor; she was venerated as "ancestress and founder of the eighteenth dynasty," and styled "the wife of the god Ammon," etc. Another strain of Negro blood came into the line of the Pharaohs with Mut-em-na, wife of Thothmes IV, whose son, Amenhotep III, had a Negroid physiognomy. Amenhotep III was famous as a builder and his reign (ca. 1400 B. C.) is distinguished by a marked improvement in Egyptian art and architecture. He it was who built the great temple of Ammon at Luxor and the colossi of Memnon.

Thothmes I was the son of Amenhotep I, and thus the grandson of Nefert-ari and an Egyptian quadroon, that is, one-fourth

Negro. Magnificent and splendid as are the architectural achievements of Amenhotep III, achievements which rival the Pyramids, the Sphinx and the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, I believe that the launching forth of Egypt upon her career of world empire stamps Thothmes I as the most dynamic force in Egyptian history.

Now for the proof of Thothmes I's Negro descent and Amenhotep III's Negro descent. I will say at the start that there is considerable doubt regarding what makes a man a Negro. In America, I believe that the legislatures of South Carolina decided that one-sixteenth Negro blood makes a man a Negro. And in the District of Columbia they make even a finer discrimination. In 1909, a supposedly white child was barred from a white school because it was discovered that he was one-thirty-second or one-sixty-fourth Negro. One drop of Negro blood in that case claimed thirty-one drops or sixty-three drops of Caucasian blood. A man or woman of perfectly white complexion, perfectly straight hair and aquiline nose, is socially ostracized if he or she has a strain of Negro blood in their veins.

But many scientists in removing the Ethiopian race, the Ba-Luba tribe and other enlightened African tribes and races from the category of the term Negro, do so because they are not a pure and unmixed Negro race, although their dark complexions, curly hair and Negroid features indicate the Negro strains as plainly as do the color, hair and features of a mulatto in America.

Before I enter into a detailed discussion of the subject, I desire to gather up the threads of our previous discussion. The Ethiopians were the blackest race known to the ancients. "To wash the Ethiopian white" was a familiar saying in ancient Greece and Rome. We find in the Scriptures this assertion: "Can an Ethiopian change his color or the leopard his spots?" Herodotus goes still further and says that the Ethiopians were not only black, but the most curly haired of all nations. Keane, the well-known ethnologist, says "Herodotus meant by the term Ethiopian what we moderns mean by the term Negro." The Ethiopians undoubtedly do not look like the exaggerated type of the unadulterated Negro which is depicted in school geographies. Neither did the late Dr. Crummell or Vice President Dossen of Liberia, who were noble looking men and who were supposed to be of pure and unmixed Negro descent.

First, a few words regarding the Egyptians. Alexander Moret, on page 108 of his work entitled "In the Time of the Pharaohs," says:

The question of the origins of Egypt may be put to-day in the following terms; a race, called native or indigenous, having attained the highest stage of neolithic civilization, occupied the valley of the Nile; a foreign race, more civilized, of unexplained origin, displaced the first and founded around Abydos a kingdom which we called Thimite, to use the term of Manetho again.

The native race which occupied Egypt in prehistoric times has left traces all along the valley of the Nile; the landmarks of the stone age have been pointed out by M. de Morgan, so that it is possible to draw up a map of neolithic Egypt with its centres of culture; Abu-Roash in the north.

Moret, the sub-director of the Musée Guimet and the professor of Egyptology in L'École des Hautes Études, again says, on pages 164 and 165 of the same volume:

Thus Egypt, under Thimite rule, foreshadows the Memphite Kingdom, its monuments, arts, religious beliefs, and political organization. But how many points are still lacking in this obscure history that teaches us nothing about the beginnings of the indigenous race, the real origin of the foreign invaders, and very little about the fusion of these two elements, from which arose those Africans whom we call Egyptians.

Many opinions—which I could not sum up here—have been advanced, as to what the soil still conceals or by way of explaining what it has already yielded. Let us not forget that the great number of speculations launched to-day, necessarily formed rather too hastily, but indispensable nevertheless for the progress of science, will be revised in the near future in the light of documents which may then have been unearthed.

So there is evidently a good deal of obscurity regarding origins in Egypt; but is it not natural to suppose that the native race was a Negro race and that the invaders were a Semitic race, and that the Egyptians were "Semitised Africans."

George Rawlinson, M.A., professor of ancient history in the University of Oxford, says on page 24 of his work entitled "The Story of Ancient Egypt" in the "Story of the Nations Series," published by Putnam in 1887:

The fundamental character of the Egyptian in respect to physical type, language, and tone of thought is Nigritic. The Egyptians were not Negroes, but they bore a resemblance to the Negro, which is indisputable.

Their type differs from the Caucasian in exactly those respects which when exaggerated produce the Negro. They were darker, had thicker lips, lower foreheads, larger heads, more advancing jaws, a flatter foot, and a more attenuated frame. It is quite conceivable that the Negro type was produced by a gradual degradation from that which we find in Egypt. It is even conceivable that the Egyptian type was produced by gradual advance and amelioration from that of the negro.

Still, whencesoever derived, the Egyptian people, as it existed in the flourishing times of Egyptian history, was beyond all question a mixed race, showing diverse affinities. Whatever the people was originally, it received into it from time to time various foreign elements, and those in such quantities as seriously to affect its physique—Ethiopians from the south, Libyans from the west, Semites from the northeast, where Africa adjoined on Asia.

Dr. Birch, on page 19 of his "Introduction to Ancient History from the Monuments," says of them:

. . . by whom the valley of the Nile was tenanted. On the earliest monuments they appear as a red or dusky race, with features neither entirely Caucasian nor Nigrific, more resembling at the earliest age the European, at the middle period of the Empire the Nigrific races or the offspring of a mixed population, and at the most flourishing period of their empire the sallow tint and refined type of the Semitic families of mankind. Placed in the Mosaic accounts as descendants of the family of Ham, or the black races, it has been usual to style them Hamitic, as an African people.

With regard to the Ethiopians, Rawlinson says, on pages 434 and 435 of the second volume of his "History of Ancient Egypt":

The Ethiopians were darker in complexion than the Egyptians, and possessed probably a greater infusion of Nigrific blood; but there was a common stock at the root of the two races, Cush and Mizraim were brethren.

On pages 314 and 315 of "The Story of Egypt," Rawlinson says:

The name of Ethiopia was applied in ancient times much as the term Soudan is applied now, vaguely to the East African interior south of Egypt, from about latitude  $24^{\circ}$  to about latitude  $9^{\circ}$ . They were a race cognate with the Egyptians, but darker in complexion and coarser in features—not by any means Negroes, but still more nearly allied to the Negro than the Egyptians were. Their best representatives in modern times are the pure bred Abyssinian tribes, the Gallas, Walaitzas, and the like, who are probably their descendants.

Ratzel, on page 245, Vol. II, of his "History of Mankind," says:

The nucleus of the population of Africa, in respect both of geographical position and of mass, is Ethiopian; dark brown skin, woolly hair, thick—or rather everted—lips, and a tendency to strong development of the facial and maxillary parts.

On page 239 of the same volume, there is a picture of a South Abyssinian girl. She is represented with dark complexion, crisp, curly hair and thick lips and broad, flat nose.

Mariette, on page 13 of his "Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History," says:

With varying boundaries, and without unity of organization, Ethiopia was the home of an enormous population, diverse in origin and race, but the bulk of whom were Cushites, a people of Hamitic descent, who at some unknown period of history had crossed the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and seized upon Upper Egypt. Under the twelfth dynasty, these Cushites were Egypt's bitterest foes, so that it was against the Soudan that the forces of the nation were spent.

In the light of this evidence, it is probable that both the Egyptians and the Ethiopians represented a blending of Caucasian Hamites, Semites and Negroes, although in the Egyptians the Negro strain was slight as it is in the American octoroon, while in the Ethiopians the Negro strain was the dominant one. The same racial elements were probably in both the Egyptians and Ethiopians, although they were mixed in different proportions.

On page 298, Vol. II, of Rawlinson and Wilkinson's revised English version of "Herodotus," the Greek historian says:

And Amunoph I is frequently represented with a black queen, Amés-nafrinare, who appears to have been the wife of Amés, and one of the holy women devoted to the service of the god of Thebes. . . . There was also another queen of Amés, called Aahâtp, a white woman and an Egyptian, who is represented with the black Amés-nafrinare on the museum, but in an inferior position, and this is readily explained by the greater importance of the Ethiopian princess.

If Herodotus refers to Nefert-ari as "a black queen" and contrasts her with another queen, whom he calls "a white woman," that clearly indicates that Herodotus meant by black and white what we mean by black and white, namely the extremes of color.

Samuel Birch, LL.D., on pages 83 and 84 of his book on "Egypt from the Earliest Times," published by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., in the series of "Ancient History from the Monuments," says:

The Negro mentioned at the time of the sixth dynasty does not appear in any of the sculptures of the tombs as actually employed in the service of the house or the labors of the field. At the eighteenth dynasty the Negress mounts the throne of Egypt, and, as will be subsequently seen, intermarried with sovereigns whose features, as beheld in the sculptures, recall their mixed origin. . . . The monarch reigned twenty-five years. His wife, called Aahmes-Nefertari, was a Negress, and apparently the daughter of an Ethiopian monarch.

Rawlinson, on pages 154 and 155 of his "The Story of Egypt," says:

Aahmes, in contracting his marriage with the Ethiopian princess to whom he gave the name of Nefertari—Aahmes or "the good companion of Aahmes," was, we may be tolerably sure, bent on obtaining a contingent of those stalwart troops whose modern representatives are either the blacks of the Soudan or the Gallas of the highlands of Abyssinia.

On page 158 of the same book, Rawlinson says:

Thothmes I was the grandson of the Aahmes who drove out the Hyksos. He had thus hereditary claims to valor and military distinction. The Ethiopian blood which flowed in his veins through his grandmother, Nefert-ari-Aahmes, may have given him an additional touch of audacity, and certainly showed itself in his countenance, where the short depressed nose and the unduly thick lips are of the Cushite rather than the Egyptian type.

Rawlinson, on page 209 of Volume II of his "History of Ancient Egypt," says of Aahmes and Nefert-ari-Ahmes:

He married a princess, who took the name of Nefert-ari-Aahmes, or "the beautiful companion of Aahmes," and who is represented on the monuments with pleasing features, but a complexion of ebony blackness. It is certainly wrong to call her a "Negress"; she was an Ethiopian of the best physical type; and her marriage with Aahmes may have been based upon a political motive.

In the foot note, Rawlinson says with regard to Nefert-ari-Aahmes being a black woman:

See the Denkmaler, Vol. V, part III, pl. I. Brugsch denies that this is always the case; but Wilkinson (in the author's "Herodotus," Vol.

II, page 355), Birch ("Ancient Egypt," page 81), and Canon Trevor ("Ancient Egypt," page 277) agree in regarding Nefert-ari-Aahmes as a black.

I have studied the head of Nefert-ari-Aahmes. She has a very black complexion, with slightly Negroid lips. South of the Mason and Dixon's line she would be regarded as a fine-looking black woman.

Bridge, in his work on Egypt, gives a fanciful reason for representing her on the monuments as a woman of ebony black complexion. He says that she was the sister of Aahmes and that she was represented as black on the monuments to personify some mythological being. But common sense teaches us better. We know that the Egyptians endeavored, the same as we do, to represent the true facial characteristics and the true color of their kings and queens on the monuments. If the Egyptians represented Nefert-ari as a very black woman on the monuments, they must so have regarded her.

Then I have studied the head of Queen Hatshapsitu, the elder daughter of Thothmes I, on the title page of "Kings and Gods of Egypt," by Alexander Moret, who was crowned on the same day as Thothmes III, and reigned together with him. She is a fine-looking woman and has the Negroid lips and curve of features which we frequently find among the quadroons of America.

Rawlinson, on page 254 of Vol. II of his "History of Ancient Egypt," says of Thothmes III, the son of Thothmes I: "The mouth is somewhat too full for beauty, but is resolute, like the eye and less sensual than that of most Egyptians."

The strain of Negro blood is unmistakable in Thothmes I, and we are safe in saying that he was one-fourth Negro. Now for the career of the mighty Egyptian conqueror.

#### CAREER OF THOTHMES I.

Amenhotep I, the father of Thothmes I, was a noted hunter, but Rawlinson says that he was a somewhat undistinguished prince. Moret says that his mother was Senousend, a concubine of Amenhotep I, who was not his legal wife and that she was called "Mother of King," rather than "Souse of King."

Thothmes I invaded the territory around the upper Nile and reduced to submission the rebellious Nubian and Cushite tribes,



who had been partly conquered by King Aahmes and the generals of Amenhotep. Thothmes I moved up the Nile with a fleet of vessels and with a land force and distinguished himself by his personal prowess. He himself sent an arrow into the knee of a Nubian chief, causing him to fall forward fainting. Then he was easily captured and his followers disheartened.

Having conquered the wild cat that was howling at his doors, Thothmes I, in the sixth year of his reign, turned his attention to the lion in the desert. He had crushed Egypt's rebellious neighbors. Now he must humble the pride of her foreign foes. Rawlinson says on page 215 of Vol. II of his "History of Ancient Egypt":

To exact satisfaction from the races which had attacked Egypt, and for many years oppressed her, Thothmes marched an army through Palestine and Syria into Mesopotamia, engaged the natives of those regions in a long series of battles, and defeated them more than once with great slaughter.

Flushed by his Asiatic victories, Thothmes I returned to Egypt and began to beautify his capital cities. At Thebes, he enlarged and adorned the temple of Ammon, and in Memphis built a magnificent royal palace, which he called "The Abode of Aa-khepr-ha-ra." He also erected a tablet which commemorated his achievements. His greatest architectural achievement was his embellishing the temple at Ammon, which had been begun by Amenhotep I and finished by his son, in gratitude to the divinity which had guided him on to victory. The temple originally consisted of a central cell, with side chambers. Thothmes I built in front of the central cell a cloistered court which was 240 feet long and 62 feet broad. He surrounded it by a colonnade which was supported by Osirid pillars or squares, with the figure of Osiris in front. He erected two granite obelisks seventy-five feet high on each side of the entrance or grand portal of the building. His reign lasted less than twenty years.

The Royal Tables and the common report has it that he was succeeded by Thothmes II; but Moret says that the monuments tell a different story, namely, that Thothmes I's eldest daughter, Hatasu, and his son, Thothmes III, succeeded him, being crowned together and ruling conjointly. Queen Hatasu-Khuum-Ammon

was a woman of executive and administrative ability and considerable force of character. Bold, daring and resourceful, she dominated affairs after the death of her father.

Rawlinson paid quite a tribute to Thothmes I on page 68 of his "Story of Egypt." He says:

The greatness of Thothmes I has scarcely been sufficiently recognized by historians. It may be true that he did not effect much, but he broke ground in a new direction; he set an example, which led on to grand results. To him, it was due that Egypt ceased to be the isolated, unaggressive power that she had remained for perhaps ten centuries, that she came boldly to the front and aspired to bring Asia into subjection. Henceforth she exercised a potent influence beyond her borders, an influence which affected more or less all the western Asiatic powers. She had forced her way into the country of the great nations. Henceforth, whether it was for good or for evil, she had to take her place among them, to reckon with them, as they reckoned with her, to be a factor in the problem which the ages had to work out.

#### AMENHOTEP III—RACIAL DESCENT.

First, a word as to Amenhotep III's Negro descent. Rawlinson, on page 222 of his "Story of the Nations," says: "In person, Amenhotep III was not remarkable. His features were good, except that his nose was somewhat too much rounded at the end, his upper lip short." On page 270 of Vol. II of his "History of Ancient Egypt," Rawlinson says: "Amenophis (or Amenhotep III) is represented with a face that is prognathous, one which has the jaws advanced beyond the line of the forehead."

Wilkinson remarks strongly on the foreign cast of his countenance (see the author's "Herodotus," Vol. II, page 353, 3d edition): "The statues in the British Museum (especially No. 6) show the prognathous character of the face better than the above illustration."

Herodotus thought that Amenhotep was of Egyptian and Ethiopian lineage. On page 303 of Vol. II of Rawlinson and Wilkinson's "Herodotus," the Greek historian says of Amenhotep III, whom he calls Aumnoph III:

There is reason to believe that he was not of pure Egyptian race, and his mother, Queen Maut-m-shoi, was probably a foreigner. His features differ very much from those of other Pharaohs, and the respect paid to him by some of the "Stranger Kings," one of whom (Atui-r-Ballou)

treats him as a god in the temple, founded by Aumnoph at Soleb in Ethiopia, seems to confirm this, and to argue that he was partly of the same race as those kings who afterwards usurped the throne, and made their rule and name so odious to the Egyptians.

On pages 228 and 229 of his "The Story of Egypt," Rawlinson says of Amenhotep IV, his son: "He had a slanting forehead, a long, aquiline nose, a flexible, projecting mouth and a strongly developed chin."

The evidence as found in Rawlinson's "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II, page 261, and Wilkinson's "Herodotus," Vol. II, page 359, 3d edition, is that Amenhotep III's mother was Mutemuya, an Ethiopian. Professor James H. Breasted of Chicago University gives a different version of the matter. On page 328 of his "History of Egypt," Breasted says:

Thutmose evidently desired a friend in the north, for he sent to Artatana, the Mitannian king, and desired his daughter in marriage. After some proper display of reluctance, Artatana consented, and the Mitannian princess was sent to Egypt, where she probably received an Egyptian name, Mutemuya, and became the mother of the next king of Egypt, Amenhotep III. Amarna Letters, 21, 16-18.

Professor Breasted, by a tortuous and ingenious explanation, tries to get around the fact that Amenhotep III's mother was an Ethiopian. It is probably true that Amenhotep III's father married a daughter from a northern tribe, but Professor Breasted has not produced the evidence that her name was Mutemuya, and that she was the mother of Amenhotep III. The natural explanation is the one given by "Herodotus," Rawlinson and Wilkinson, namely, that the mother of Amenhotep III was an Ethiopian. A study of the head of Queen Mutemua, the mother of Amenhotep III of Egypt, clearly shows that she was not a pure Negress; but her lips are slightly Negroid and there was undoubtedly a strain of Negro blood in her veins. Then the prognathous character of the head of Amenhotep III, his rounded nose and Negroid lips, and the slanting forehead and flexible, projecting lips of his son, Amenhotep IV, clearly show that there was a strain of Negro blood coursing through their veins. As the Ethiopians were such a heterogeneous race, and as Mutemua was not a pure Negress, we are justified in regarding her as an

Ethiopian mulatto, that is, one-half Negro, and her son, Amenhotep III, as an Egyptian quadroon, that is, one-fourth Negro. So much for his racial descent; now for his achievements.

#### CAREER OF AMENHOTEP III.

Amenhotep III was not a great warrior. He held the ground that Thothmes I gained in Syria and western Mesopotamia; but he did not extend the boundaries of the Egyptian empire. He made several raids or razzias up the valley of the Nile against the Negro tribes of the Soudan. These raids or razzias were not for the purpose of conquest but to procure slaves. Then he engaged in lion hunting.

But his fame rests upon his work as a builder. He built temples at Karnak, shrines at Soleb and Napata and Sedinga, and, in the words of Rawlinson, left traces of himself at Senneh, in the island of Kouasso, on the rocks between Philae and Assouan, at El-Koab, at Toora, near Memphis, at Silsil's and at Sarabit-el-Khadim in the Sinai peninsula.

He also erected two structures which rank with the Pyramids of Egypt, the Splinx, the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the Parthenon of Greece, the Coliseum of Rome and the Gothic cathedrals, among the supreme expressions of architectural genius. I refer to the Memnonian and the Temple of the Kings at Luxor.

Rawlinson, on page 208 of his "Story of Egypt," says:

The fame of Amenhotep the Third, the grandson of the great Thothmes, rests especially upon his Twin Colossi, the grandest, if not actually the largest, that the world has ever beheld. Imagine sitting figures, formed of a single solid block of sandstone, mouldering gradually away under the influence of time and weather changes, yet which are still more than sixty feet high, and must originally, when they wore the tall crown of an Egyptian king, have reached very nearly the height of seventy feet. We think a statue vast, colossal, of magnificent dimensions, if it be as much as ten or twenty feet high—as Chantrey's statue of Pitt, or Phideas's chryselephantine statue of Jupiter. What, then, must these be, which are of a size so vastly greater? . . .

The design of erecting two such colossi must be attributed to the monarch himself, and we must estimate, from the magnificence of the design, the grandeur of his thoughts and the wonderful depth of his imagination; but the skill to execute, the genius to express in stone such dignity, majesty, and repose as the statues possess, belongs to the first-rate sculptor, who turned the rough blocks of stone, hewn by the

maisons in a distant quarry, into the glorious statues that have looked down upon the plain for so many ages.

The sculptor's name was Amenhotep or Amen-hept, the same as the king's. The Romans called the statues "The Vocal Memnon," because they emitted a musical sound at sunrise. Strabo, Pliny the elder, Pausanias, Tacitus, Juvenal, Lucian, Philostratus and others refer to the fact. Rawlinson says, "A common soldier has recorded the fact on the base of the statue, that he heard it no fewer than thirteen times." Rawlinson explains the musical quality of the Vocal Memnon by saying:

It is a fact well known to scientific persons at the present day, that musical sounds are often given forth by natural rocks and by quarried masses of stone, in consequence of a sudden change of temperature.

Rawlinson says of Amenhotep's other famous structure:

Another of Amenhotep's palace-temples has been less unkindly treated by fortune than the one just mentioned. The temple of Luxor or El-Kusur, on the eastern bank of the river, about a mile and a half to the south of the great temple of Karnak, is a magnificent edifice to this day; and though some portions of it, and some of its most remarkable features, must be assigned to Rameses II, yet still it is in the main a construction of Amenhotep's and must be regarded as being, even if it stood alone, sufficient proof of his eminence as a builder. The length of the entire building is about eight hundred feet, the breadth varying from about one hundred feet to two hundred.

So we see that Amenhotep III, an Egyptian quadron, one-fourth Negro, erected structures that have perpetuated his name for over thirty centuries, and that will stand as landmarks to the constructive genius in whose veins coursed the blood of the Negro race.

#### SETI I, CALLED SETI THE GREAT.

And now we come to Seti I, called Seti the Great, the conqueror of the Hittites, the Cushites and other tribes on the upper Nile, who has sent his name ringing down the ages as one of Egypt's mighty warriors and the builder of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. His fame as an Egyptian conqueror is only equalled by that of his son Rameses II. The evidence is not so clear as in the case of Thothmes I and Amenhotep III, but the indications are that

a strain of Negro blood coursed through his veins; just how much I do not know. Rawlinson, on page 252 of his work, "The Story of Egypt," says:

Seti's face is thoroughly African, strong, fierce, prognathous with depressed nose, thick lips, and a heavy chin. . . . We may conclude that Seti was of the true Egyptian race, with perhaps an admixture of more southern blood.

Does not Seti's prognathous face, his depressed nose and thick lips indicate a strain of Negro blood?

Rawlinson again says of Seti I, on page 299 of Vol. II of his "History of Ancient Egypt": "He has a fairly good forehead, a rounded, depressed nose, full projecting lips, and a heavy chin." Does not "a rounded, depressed nose" and "full projecting lips" indicate the possibility of Negro blood coursing through his veins? This point I shall not press however. I merely throw it out as a suggestion.

## CHAPTER LI.

### *The Negro as Hero, Continued—Mohammed Askia, the African Charlemagne, the Ruler of the Songhays.*

Again and again, in delving into the past and unearthing the achievements of the African race, we meet with continual surprises. And one of these surprises is Major Felix DuBois's work entitled "Timbuctoo, the Mysterious," published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York, in 1896. That a black Charlemagne should arise in the heart of Africa and make the Soudan a center of Mussulman culture and civilization in the sixteenth century, seems a miracle. And yet that is what Mohammed Askia did. Major DuBois closes his account of him by saying:

A wonderful impulse was imparted to this country in the sixteenth century and a marvelous civilization appeared in the very heart of the black continent. This civilization was not imposed by circumstances and force, as is so often the case, even in our own country, but was spontaneously desired, evoked and propagated by a man of the Negro races. Unfortunately, its fairest promises were never fulfilled, owing, not so much to the native successors, as to the civilized (some say white) people who ruthlessly destroyed all this good seed and caused tares of barbarism to sprout anew.

Major DuBois did not draw upon his imagination but visited Timbuctoo, tarried there, investigated, delved into the records and writings of native authors, living and dead, and discovered that many noted black scholars arose in the interior of Africa between 1100 and 1600 A. D., one of whom wrote a history of the Soudan. Cardinal Gibbons, who, besides writing a splendid book upon "Our Christian Heritage," has more than once manifested his friendship for the colored race, and belief in the black man's possibilities, rendered the African Negro a signal service, when, in 1901, he called attention to Major DuBois's work, which, like Abbé Gregoire's "Enquiry," revealed to the world the fact that the Negro race in different lands and ages had produced a few truly remarkable men.

Mohammed Askia, called Mohammed ben Abou Bahr, was the ablest of the generals and ministers who surrounded King Sunni

Ali, who came from the Farons, a nation of idol worshipers. Mohammed's life often hung by a thread. After the death of Sunni Ali, Mohammed ben Abou Bahr marshalled his forces, defeated the army of Sumi Barro, the son of Sunni Ali, drove him out of the country and seized the sceptre of authority in 1494, two years after Columbus discovered America. The daughters of Sunni Ali called Mohammed ben Abou Bahr "Askia," meaning "usurper," and Mohammed took "Askia" as his surname, so Mohammed Askia means Mohammed the usurper.

The first thing that Mohammed Askia did was to drop idol worship and embrace Islamism, to banish the soothsayers and welcome the marabouts. They rallied around him and sanctioned his usurpation. Then, like the European usurpers of the Middle Ages, he sought the sanction of the church. Placing the hands of his brother Omar upon the throttle valves of the government, he set out for Mecca and Cairo in 1497, with a splendid retinue, bearing magnificent gifts.

Major DuBois says of this pilgrimage:

He made a pilgrimage to the house of God, accompanied by a thousand foot soldiers and five hundred horses, and carrying with him three hundred thousand mitkals of gold from the treasure of Sunni Ali. He scattered this treasure in the holy places, at the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, and at the sacred mosque at Mecca. In the latter town he bought gardens and established a charitable institute for the people of the Soudan. This place is well known in Mecca, and cost five thousand mitkals.

Khalif Abassid Motewekkel asked Mohammed Askia to abdicate for three days and place the power in his hands, which he did. On the fourth day Motewekkel proclaimed Askia the Sultan's representative in the Soudan.

DuBois still further says:

This pilgrimage had another and still more important effect upon his reign and his people, for he assiduously entertained the theologians and learned men of Cairo while there.

He evinced a great interest in many subjects, and displayed much anxiety to receive their counsel upon the best and most enlightened manner of life and government. He deferred especially to Essoyonti a scholar, whose name is celebrated in Arabian literature to this day. Askia opened a correspondence with him on his return to Soughois, and always submitted his most important reforms to the savant, never neglecting to



follow his advice concerning them. It was at Cairo, undoubtedly, that he acquired those notions of government which his organizing genius applied to the erection of a fabric so solid and durable that it lasted to the end of his dynasty. Thus once again we find Egypt exercising a civilizing influence upon the Soudan.

Having won the sonorous title of Emir Askia el Hadj (the pilgrim) Mohamman, by this long voyage, he earned, as the immediate result of it, the more valuable title of Askia the Great. He resumed the reins of government on his return, making his brother Omar his generalissimo. The position of neither was an easy one, for Sunni Ali's unorganized conquests had to be consolidated, almost, in fact, renewed; and hardly a year of his reign is unmarked by some expedition.

We may briefly chronicle the events of Mohammed's reign. The crucial and epochal moment in a man's life is the moment when he received his inspiration. That moment came in Askia's life when he came to Cairo, the center of Arabian culture and civilization. That visit to Cairo had the same effect upon him that going to a great university has upon a crude and unformed youth from the backwoods. The contact with the Arabian center of learning broadened Mohammed Askia and filled him with the ideas and ideals which he realized in his reign.

Returning to the Songhois, he moved rapidly. In 1499 he conquered the Mossi to the south. Then he waged a twelve-years war (1501-1513) against the Mali to the west, taking and destroying Zaino, the capital, and completely subduing the provinces, towns and races of the Mali. Then he turned toward the east and reorganized, between the years 1514-1519, the section of his empire around Lake Chad, reconquering the Agades and reducing to submission the kingdoms of Katsina, Kano, Zegzey and Saufara.

As a result of his twenty years of war and conquest, Mohammed Askia now ruled over a vast territory extending from the salt mines of Thegazza on the north to Bandonk, the country of Bammaku on the south, and stretching from Lake Chad on the east to the Atlantic Ocean on the west. A contemporary said, "It was a six months' journey to cross this formidable empire."

Major DuBois, on pages 113 and 114 of his work, goes on to say:

And yet the reign of Askia the Great is not so remarkable for its conquests as for the wise method of government he established in the

country and the pains he took to closely incorporate the new territories with the Songhois empire.

He abolished the former system of tribute and had his own lieutenants administer affairs in the various sections of the empire, so that his will was law in the far distant boundaries of his empire. He appointed four viceroys, who acted as supervisors of the provinces, military chiefs, judges and the collector of taxes.

He centralized the empire by choosing the highest officers of states, the military chiefs and marabouts from the royal family or marrying them to its princesses.

Major DuBois says:

"Commerce developed amazingly, its transactions being favoured and assisted by excellent measures guaranteeing regularity and honesty. . . . In the train of the merchants came the learned strangers, who flocked to the Soudan upon hearing that they would be particularly well received. They came from Morocco, Tuat, Algeria and Cairo. Science and letters received a sudden impetus, and were not long in producing Sudanese writers of the greatest interest, whose manuscripts, in fact, furnish me with all these details, and of whom I shall speak at greater length when we have reached Timbuctoo. . . .

People approaching the king in audience covered their heads with dust, he never spoke directly to assemblies nor to the people, but always dealt with them through the medium of a herald. Upon the occasions of his going out, his cortege was preceded by musicians, drums, and trumpets, and he rode in solitary state, with his suite at a respectful distance behind. Servants marched surrounding his horse, and holding by turns to his saddle; they were called foot companions and their headman was the master of the road. Viceroys had a right to a similar but more modest display."

With such regal pomp and splendour did the great monarch hold sway. But thirty-five years of heavy responsibility and strenuous activity wore Mohammed Askia the Great out in body and mind. His one hundred sons got tired of being bossed by him. So Askia Moussa, the eldest son, revolting, deposed his father at Gao in 1529. And he ascended the throne, which had been firmly established by the organizing genius of his father.

## CHAPTER LII.

*The Negro as Hero, Continued—Colonel Henry Diaz of Brazil—Ogé—Toussaint L'Ouverture—General Ibrahim Hannibal of Russia—Chevalier Sainte Georges—General Alexander Dumas—Emperor Menelik—General Alfred Amedée Dodds.*

We have already referred to the brilliant exploits of Colonel Henry Diaz of Brazil at the close of Part IV in our chapter on "Distinguished Foreign Negroes," so I will not elaborate any further upon his career.

### OGÉ.

We are accustomed to regard the Haytien Revolution as a volcanic eruption; but it was the last of a series of revolutionary upheavals which shook the West Indies during the closing years of the eighteenth century. We will now briefly take up the career of the martyr Ogé, the leader of the revolt of the mulattoes of San Domingo, who was broken on the wheel and whose tragic death stirred the seas of human passion with an elemental power and fanned the flickering fires of revolt into a devastating flame.

Alphonse De Lamartine, on pages 328 to 332 of Vol. I of his "History of the Girondists," has told the story of Ogé's life and death in such a powerful and telling way that I will quote part of it here. Lamartine says:

Ogé, deputed to Paris by the men of color to assert their rights in the Constituent Assembly, had become known to Brissot, Raynal, Gregoire, and was affiliated with them in the Society of the Friends of the Blacks. Passing thence into England, he became known to the admirable philanthropist, Clarkson. Clarkson and his friend at this time were pleading the cause of the emancipation of the Negroes; they were the first apostles of that religion of humanity who believed that they could not raise their hands purely towards God so long as those hands retained a link of that chain which holds a race of human beings in degradation and in slavery. The association with these men of worth expanded Ogé's mind. He had come to Europe only to defend the interest of the mulattoes; he now took up with warmth the more liberal and holy cause of all the blacks; he devoted himself to the liberty of all his brethren. He returned to France, and became very

intimate with Barnave; he entreated the Constituent Assembly to apply the principles of liberty to the colonies, and not to make any exception to Divine law by leaving the slaves to their masters; excited and irritated by the hesitation of the committee, who withdrew with one hand what it gave with the other, he declared that if justice could not suffice for their cause, he would appeal to force. Barnave had said, "Perish the colonies rather than a principle!" The men of the 14th of July had no right to condemn, in the heart of Ogé, that revolt which was their own title to independence. We may believe that the secret wishes of the friends of the blacks followed Ogé, who returned to San Domingo. He found there the rights of men of color and the principles of liberty of the blacks more denied and more profaned than ever. He raised the standard of insurrection, but with the forms and rights of legality. At the head of a body of two hundred men of color, he demanded the promulgation in the colonies of the decrees of the National Assembly, despotically delayed until that time. He wrote to the military commandant at the Cape, "We require the proclamation of the law which makes us free citizens. If you oppose this, we will repair to Leogane, we will nominate electors, and repel force by force. The pride of the colonists revolts at sitting beside us: was the pride of the nobility and clergy consulted when the equality of citizens was proclaimed in France?"

The government replied to this eloquent demand for liberty by sending a body of troops to disperse the persons assembled, and Ogé drove them back.

A larger body of troops being despatched, they contrived, after a desperate resistance, to disperse the mulattoes. Ogé escaped, and found refuge in the Spanish part of the island. A price was set upon his head. M. de Blanchelande in his proclamations imputed it as a crime to him that he had claimed the rights of nature in the name of the Assembly, which had so loudly proclaimed the rights of the citizen. They applied to the Spanish authorities to surrender this Spartacus, equally dangerous to the safety of the whites in both countries. Ogé was delivered up to the French by the Spaniards, and sent for trial to the Cape. His trial was protracted for two months, in order to afford time to cut asunder all the threads of the plot of independence, and intimidate his accomplices. The whites, in great excitement, complained of these delays, and demanded his head with loud vociferations. The judges condemned him to death for a crime which in the mother-country had constituted the glory of La Fayette and Mirabeau.

He underwent torture in his dungeon. The rights of his race, centred and persecuted in him, raised his soul above the torments of his executioners. "Give up all hope," he exclaimed, with unflinching daring; "give up all hope of extracting from me the name of even one of my accomplices. My accomplices are everywhere where the heart of a man is raised against the oppressors of men." From that moment he pronounced but two words, which sounded like a remorse in the ears of

his persecutors—Liberty! Equality! He walked composedly to his death; listened with indignation to the sentence which condemned him to the lingering and infamous death of the vilest criminals. "What!" he exclaimed; "do you confound me with criminals because I have desired to restore to my fellow-creatures the rights and titles of men which I feel in myself! Well! you have my blood, but an avenger will arise from it!" He died on the wheel, and his mutilated carcass was left on the highway. This heroic death reached even to the National Assembly, and gave rise to various opinions. "He deserved it," said Malouet; "Ogé was a criminal and an assassin." "If Ogé be guilty," replied Gregoire, "so are we all; if he who claimed liberty for his brothers perished justly on the scaffold, then all Frenchmen who resemble us should mount there also."

Ogé's blood bubbled silently in the hearts of all the mulatto race. They swore to avenge him. . . . The repugnance of the friends of the blacks, numerous in the Assembly, to take energetic measures in favor of the colonists, the distance from the scene of action, which weakens pity, and then the interior movement which attracted into its sphere minds and things, soon effaced these impressions, and allowed the spirit of independence amongst the blacks to form and expand at San Domingo, which showed itself in the distance in the form of a poor old slave—Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Now we come to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a genius in war and statesmanship whom Wendell Phillips ranks with Cromwell and Napoleon as a general and with George Washington and Abraham Lincoln as a statesman. That a slave should organize a chaotic mass of slaves into an army that, like an avalanche, swept their former masters out of Hayti and into the sea, and then established a government out of the same slaves that, in spite of internal dissensions and revolutions and external foes, has survived for a century and still shows no signs of dying, is the miracle of history. To one who has read Harriet Martineau's wonderful novel, "The Hour and the Man," to one who has read B. O. Flower's brilliant article upon Toussaint L'Ouverture, and to one who has read Wendell Phillips panegyric upon "The Soldier Statesman," it will seem that nothing new can be said in his behalf. So I will content myself by quoting two scholars of note and prominence, one statesman of note and prominence, and two poets of note and prominence upon Toussaint L'Ouverture. Where a man's career like that of Napoleon is open to a double interpretation, something new can be said. But a character and career like that of George Washington or Toussaint

L'Ouverture, which has been studied and admired for over a century, which has stood the test of time and weathered the gale of criticism, offers no new field of investigation.

Some men await the judgment of posterity to vindicate their careers, but Toussaint L'Ouverture so impressed such contemporaries as Abbé Gregoire, Vincent, the engineer, the Marquis d'Hermonas, the French general Pamphile Lacroix, Roume, Rainsford, and the poet Wordsworth with his superlative qualities of mind and heart, that historians, writers and orators of a later generation like Lamartine, Sir Spencer St. John, Harriet Martineau, Wendell Phillips, Lidia Maria Childs, Professor Charles Cassal, B. O. Flower, Ida A. Taylor and the poet Whittier are forced to regard his personality and career as an extraordinary phenomena of human history. And we may justly regard him as the most gifted individual that the Negro race yet produced, a man whom we can not only call a great Negro, but a truly great man.

People have supposed that Wendell Phillips's matchless lecture made Toussaint famous; but he impressed his contemporaries as being an extraordinary individual before the gifted orator was born. Abbé Gregoire, on page 102 of his "Enquiry," says of Toussaint L'Ouverture:

Toussaint L'Ouverture had worn the chains of slavery, for he had been a herdsman at the plantation of Breda, to the intendent of which he sent pecuniary aid, who, with Reymond, the mulatto, associate of the National Institute, formed a democratic constitution for St. Domingo. His bravery and that of Rigaud, a mulatto general, and his competitor, cannot be contested, for it had been displayed on many occasions. In this view he resembles the Cacique Henry, whose memory Charlevoix has celebrated.

I have seen a very curious manuscript, entitled, "Reflections on the present state of the Colony of St. Domingo, by Vincent, engineer." The following is the portrait he presents of the Negro general:

"Toussaint, at the head of his army is the most active and indefatigable man of whom we can form an idea; we may say, with truth, that he is found wherever instructions or danger render his presence necessary. The particular care which he employs in his march, of always deceiving the men of whom he has need, and who think they enjoy a confidence he gives to none, has such an effect, that he is daily expected in all the chief places of the colony. His great sobriety, the faculty, which none but he possesses, of never reposing, the facility with which he resumes the affairs of the cabinet after most tiresome excursions,

of answering daily a hundred letters, and of habitually tiring five secretaries, render him so superior to all those around him, that their respect and submission are in most individuals carried even to fanaticism. It is certain that no man, in the present times, has obtained such an influence over a mass of ignorant people, as General Toussaint possesses over his brethren in St. Domingo."

Vincent, the engineer, adds, that Toussaint "is endowed with a prodigious memory; that he is a good father, a good husband, and that his civil qualities are as solid, as his political life is cunning and culpable."

A still more remarkable tribute to Toussaint appears in the preface to A. De Lamartine's "*Toussaint L'Ouverture, a Dramatic Poem*," which was edited with English notes by Professor Charles Cassal, LL.D., of University College, London, and published by Longmans, Green & Company, London, in 1875. That Lamartine, one of the most brilliant and most powerful of the modern French writers, should make Toussaint a hero of "*A Dramatic Poem*" is certainly a recognition of the black Haytien chief. And Professor Cassal has this to say in the way of commendation of Toussaint in the preface:

Toussaint was born at San Domingo, in 1743. He was of noble, some say of royal descent, and possessed high ability, and even genius. He took part in the first insurrection of the Negroes, joined the Spanish Army at San Domingo, rose rapidly from the ranks, and was a colonel when he heard of the Decree of the "Convention Nationale" setting all slaves free. He at once entered the service of the French as "Général de Brigade"—a step which has been by some called treasonable. He obtained the grade of "Général de Division" for taking the town of Cap by storm at the head of 10,000 men, and assisting in driving the English out of the island. His ambition naturally grew with his success, and he soon secured an absolute authority over the coloured people; fought against the French as he had fought against the Spaniards; forced his adversary, General Rigaud, to reëmbark, and soon found himself absolute master of the whole of San Domingo. He was appointed president for life, and an era of prosperity was beginning at Haiti when Bonaparte, who could suffer no power beside his own, sent that expedition commanded by his brother-in-law, Leclerc, which forms the starting-point of the present drama. The blacks, under the leadership of Toussaint, made an heroic defence; some 11,000 of their enemies perished, and ultimately the French had to abandon the colony altogether. Before that event, however, Toussaint, having been overcome, was betrayed by his generals, and even by one of his sons, and had to submit. The conditions imposed upon him were honourable enough, but he was treacherously led into a snare, arrested and sent with his family

to France. Napoleon had the meanness to interrogate him as to where he had hidden his treasures! "My loss is something more than money," was the answer of Toussaint. He was imprisoned first in the "Temple," and soon after in the fortress of Joux, where he was frozen to death in 1803. Some say he shared the fate of Pichegru, Aréna, Cerrachi, and others, and was murdered in his prison.

Whatever may be said of that truly extraordinary man, it cannot be denied that his was a lofty and powerful mind. His ability for government was admirable; his system, which consisted in gaining ascendancy over the whites by craft, and ruling the blacks by the strength of his mind, was invariably successful, being based upon a profound knowledge of the two races. In his long and strangely eventful career, there are certainly acts of treachery, but, in this, he has done nothing more than imitate Napoleon. Everything shows, that had he succeeded in establishing his authority on a durable basis, he would have secured the prosperity of the colony. [Napoleon in vain sent an army of 30,000 men and sixty-six ships to crush Toussaint.]

But the most remarkable tribute to Toussaint L'Ouverture, with the exception of Wendell Phillips's wonderful oration, appears in the work of a merciless critic and detractor of Hayti. I refer to Sir Spencer St. John, K.C.M.G., a former minister resident and consul-general to Hayti, and envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico. His work, entitled "Hayti, or the Black Republic," was published in New York by Scribner & Melford in 1889.

Sir Spencer St. John says, on pages 47-49 of his work on Hayti:

Amid the many heroes whose actions the Haytians love to commemorate, Toussaint L'Ouverture does not hold a high rank; and yet the conduct of this black was so remarkable as almost to confound those who declare the Negro an inferior creature incapable of rising to genius. History, wearied with dwelling on the petty passions of the other founders of Haytian independence, may well turn to the one grand figure of this cruel war. Toussaint was born on the Breda estate in the northern department, and was a slave from birth; it has been doubted whether he was of pure Negro race. His grandfather was an African prince, but if we may judge from the portraits, he was not of the pure Negro type. Whether pure Negro or not, there is no doubt of the intelligence and energy of the man. Though but a puny child, by constant exercise and a vigorous will he became as wiry and active as any of his companions, and, moreover, gave up much of his leisure time to study. He learned to read French, and, it is said, in order to understand the Prayer Book, a little Latin; but he never quite mastered



the art of writing. He was evidently trusted and kindly treated by his master's agent, who gave him charge of the sugar mills. There is an accusation constantly brought against Toussaint, that of being a religious hypocrite, but his early life shows that it is unfounded. Whilst still a slave, his principles would not allow him to follow the custom of his companions and live in concubinage; he determined to marry, though the woman he chose had already an illegitimate son named Placide, whom he adopted. It is pleasing to read of the happy domestic life of Toussaint, and it is another proof of that affectionate disposition which made those who served him devoted to him.

When the insurrection broke out in the northern province, Toussaint remained faithful to his master, and prevented any destruction on the estate; but finding ultimately that he could not stem the tide, he sent his master's family for safety into Cap Haitien, and joined the insurgents. He was at first appointed surgeon to the army, as among his other accomplishments was a knowledge of simples, which had given him great influence on the estate, and was now to do so in the insurgent forces. He liked this employment, as it kept him free from the savage excesses of his companions, who were acting with more than ordinary barbarity.

Sir Spencer St. John says again, on pages 70 to 73, of Toussaint:

We have all heard or read something of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and been taught to think well of him. I was therefore the more surprised, on my arrival at Port-au-Prince, to hear his memory so depreciated. I do not remember any Haytian having voluntarily spoken of him, though they never wearied of talking of Dessalines, Christophe, and Rigaud. I at first thought that Toussaint's never having unnecessarily shed the blood of the whites, whilst the others may be said to have rejoiced at the sight of it, was one of the chief causes; but the real reason why the historians and biographers of Hayti would lower Toussaint's memory is the energy with which he acted against the rebellious mulattoes, and his firm determination that all color should be equally respected by the law, and that all should have equal rights.

It is impossible not to be struck with almost the unanimous opinion favorable to Toussaint which has been recorded by all parties, even by his enemies. The Marquis d'Hermonas says that "God in this terrestrial globe could not commune with a purer spirit"; the French general Pamphile Lacroix records that "Nul n'osait l'aborder sans crainte, et nul ne le quittait sans respect." We have seen the opinion of Roume and Rainsford, that Toussaint was "a philosopher, a legislator, a general, and a good citizen," and that the latter was compelled to admire him as "a man, a governor, and a general."

He was personally brave, and being a splendid rider, loving from his earliest childhood to be on horseback, he never appeared fatigued even

after the greatest exertions. As a general he is thought to have shown much skill; and, what proves his sense, but does not add to his popularity among Haytians, he did not believe that his men were fitted to cope with the trained bands of France. He constantly said that they must trust to climate and yellow-fever as their best allies. As an administrator, he had much capacity, and his influence being unbounded, he would probably have restored its old prosperity to Hayti, had not Leclerc's expedition arrived to throw the whole island into confusion.

Toussaint's personal qualities appear to have been equal to his public: his word was sacred, he was humane on most occasions, yet with a firmness and decision which astonished his enemies. In his family relations he showed the most tender affection for wife and children; his fine nature was apparent on all occasions in his solicitude for his wounded officers and soldiers, and the thoughtful care of the prisoners that fell into his hands. His affectionate treatment of animals was also greatly noticed, and whenever he came upon fugitive women and children of any color, his first thought was for their comfort.

Our Consul-General Mackenzie (1827) often talked to the black officers of Toussaint; they described him as stern and unbending, but just, and intimately acquainted with the habits of the people and the best interests of his country.

The one mistake of his life appears to have been his refusal, when urged to do so by England, to declare the independence of Hayti. Had he accepted the English proposals and entered into a treaty with us and with the Americans, it is not likely that Bonaparte would have ever attempted an expedition against him, and the history of Hayti might have been happier.

But one of the most remarkable tributes to Toussaint L'Ouverture was given in the remarks of the late Collis P. Huntington, the noted financier, at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, January 1, 1900, on "The Future of the Negro," in which he referred to the noted Haytien as "one of the wisest, noblest and best characters that lived in his generation."

An eminent English and an eminent American poet have also immortalized L'Ouverture in verse:

#### TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

(By Wordsworth.)

Toussaint, the most unhappy man of men!  
 Whether the whistling rustic tend his plough  
 Within thy hearing, or thy head be now  
 Pillowed in some deep dungeon's earless den:—  
 O miserable Chieftain! where and when

Wilt thou find patience? Yet die not: do thou  
Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow!  
Though fallen thyself never to rise again,  
Live, and take comfort, thou hast left behind  
Powers that will work for thee: air, earth and skies.  
There's not a breathing of the common wind,  
That will forget thee: thou hast great allies;  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

(By John G. Whittier.)

Sleep calmly in thy dungeon-tomb,  
Beneath Besancon's alien sky,  
Dark Haytien!—for the time shall come,  
Yea, even now is nigh—  
When, everywhere, thy name shall be  
Redeemed from color's infamy:  
And men shall learn to speak of thee,  
As one of earth's great spirits, born  
In servitude, and nursed in scorn,  
Casting aside the weary weight  
And fetters of its low estate,  
In that strong majesty of soul,  
Which knows no color, tongue or clime,  
Which still hath spurned the base control  
Of tyrants through all time.

GENERAL IBRAHAM HANNIBAL OR HANNIVALOO OF RUSSIA, PETER  
THE GREAT'S FAVORITE.

It has been frequently said that truth is stranger than fiction. It seems so when we read that Peter the Great, Russia's mightiest monarch, took a Negro boy, educated him and so encouraged him that he became a lieutenant-general and director of artillery and the recipient of civil and military honors—and yet that is what actually happened to the great grandfather of Poushkin, the Russian poet.

Ibrahim Hannibal was a pure Negro, who was sent to Peter the Great of Russia by the Russian ambassador at Constantinople. His boyhood was spent at the Russian courts. He was sent by Peter the Great to Paris, where the finishing touches were put upon his education.

Professor Alexander Chamberlain says of him:

Among the favorites of Peter the Great and his famous consort Catherine was an Abyssinian Negro educated in France, to whom was attached the name of Hannivaloo, who became a general and received others honors from the Russian government. He married the daughter of a Greek merchant, and his son became a general of artillery, who built the harbor and fortress of Cherson.

Abbe Henri Gregoire says of him on page 173 of his famous "Enquiry":

The Czar, Peter the First, during his travels, had an opportunity of knowing Hannibal, the African Negro, who had received a good education and who under this monarch became in Russia lieutenant-general and director of artillery. He was decorated with the red ribbon of the order of St. Alexander Neuski. Bernardin St. Pierre and Colonel LaHarpe knew his son, a mulatto, who had the reputation of talents. In 1784, he was lieutenant-general in a corps of artillery. It was he, who, under the orders of Prince Potemkin, minister at war, commenced the establishment of a port and fortress at Cherson, near the mouth of the Dnieper.

His son, General Ossip Hannibal, was a talented man, married a noble woman, but in 1784 "was tried and found guilty of bigamy," in the words of Rosa Newmarch. His wife secured a divorce. Ibrahim Hannibal's granddaughter was the mother of Alexander Sergeivich Poushkin, Russia's great poet, who wrote the memoirs of his famous ancestor, whom he described as "Peter the Great's Arab." But Ibrahim Hannibal was not a Moor or an Arab but a pure Negro. Rosa Newmarch, in her book, "Poetry and Progress in Russia," says: "The physiognomy of the poet himself, the thick lips, the curly hair and the nose which broadens and flattens across the nostrils, all point to an admixture of pure Negro rather than of Arab blood."

She also says: "In spite of a veneer of education, Hannibal appears to have retained a good deal of the savage in his nature." But we must take this assertion with a grain of salt. We must remember that Hannibal was a soldier; we must consider the age in which he lived and Rosa Newmarch's racial antipathy, which is evident in her passing lightly over Hannibal's solid attainments and the civil and political honors which he received.

Both Abbé Gregoire and Dr. William Matthews have paid tribute to the heroic spirit and herculean physical strength of

General Dumas, the mulatto who was the father and grandfather of two gifted writers. Dr. William Matthews, in his book, "Men, Places and Things," says of General Dumas:

From his earliest childhood Dumas exhibited the natural instincts of his African blood,—an intense love of physical display, an extraordinary aptitude for bodily exercise, and the love of an East Indian for everything that might be viewed as a feat. The feeling was purely hereditary, his father, the republican general, having been notorious for the same passion. In his memoirs Dumas tells us that his father had great physical strength, but though he was five feet nine inches (French) high, had the hand and foot of a woman. "His foot, in particular, was the despair of his mistresses, whose slippers he was rarely able to wear. At the epoch of his marriage his calf was exactly the size of my mother's waist. His wild mode of living had developed his address and his strength in an extraordinary manner. As to his muscular force, it had become proverbial in the army. More than once he amused himself in the riding school, while passing under a beam, by taking his beam between his arms and lifting his horse off the ground between his legs." We are further told that if he found a sergeant cheating the bivouac of its ennui by holding before his admiring inferiors a musket by the barrel, at full stretch, the exhibition would rouse at once the lurking devil of display in the dark-skinned general, who would proceed at once to demonstrate his own superiority. Not content to rival the subordinate, he would dwarf him into insignificance, quadrupling the difficulty by a new and overwhelming combination, wherein a series of muskets were seen to protrude in a direct and undeviating line of rigidity from the iron fingers of the performer! Martial feats were achieved by this African Ajax which make the story of Horatius Cocles insipid. In a chance encounter with a troop of Austrian cavalry in a narrow pass, General Dumas, alone, threw his giant bulk "full many a rood" across the path; fired his dueling-pistols with the rapidity and deathlike accuracy of modern revolvers; and one horseman still remaining unscathed, while, unfortunately, our hero with a fertile brain most dexterously terminated the struggle by whisking his adversary from his saddle, transferring him crosswise to his own, backing out of the melee, and returning triumphant and unmolested to his own outpost! At another time, commanding as a brigadier a look-out party of four dragoons, he fell in unexpectedly with an enemy's patrol composed of thirteen Tyrolese chasseurs and a corporal. He instantly charged them, and pursued them as they retreated into a small meadow surrounded by a ditch wide enough to stop cavalry. Clearing the ditch on his spirited horse, he found himself in an instant in the midst of the thirteen chasseurs, who, stupefied by such hardihood, presented their arms and surrendered! The conqueror collected the thirteen rifles into a single bundle, placed them on his saddle-bow, compelled the thirteen prisoners to move up to his four dragoons on the other side of the ditch, and, having

repassed the ditch with the last man, brought his prisoners to headquarters. *Credat Judoeus Apella!* will be the exclamation of the American reader at this exploit, which, as a British reviewer says, has no parallel except that of the Irishman who, single-handed, took four French prisoners by surrounding them.

#### THE CHEVALIER SAINTE GEORGES.

Chevalier Sainte Georges was France's most accomplished swordsman and musical performer in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a man who was knighted by Louis XVI; a man whom Talleyrand pronounced the most gifted individual he had ever met; a man, one of whose duels was an affair of state; a man, "whose bow and whose foil set all Paris in motion" in the picturesque words of Abbé Gregoire. A brief account of the distinguished swordsman, violinist and musical virtuoso will be found in my chapter upon "Distinguished Foreign Negroes." I will, however, quote a few words regarding him from Professor Chamberlain, Mr. Daniel Murray and Abbé Gregoire, who have produced noted works on Negro history, to show that I am justified in including him in my list of forty colored immortals.

Professor Alexander Francis Chamberlain, Ph.D., says: "In France, during the reign of Louis XVI, we meet with Chevalier Sainte Georges, knighted by that monarch."

Daniel Murray says in the prospectus: "The Chevalier Georges was a contemporary of Bridgetower and equally as gifted with the violin, and much his superior in general musical ability and fame."

Murray again says in his circular: "Colonel Sainte Georges, whom Talleyrand pronounced the most gifted individual he had ever met."

D. Murray says in his article in the *A. M. E. Church Review* in January, 1913: "But the Chevalier Sainte Georges may be cited as occupying an earlier place and more acknowledged position than did Phyllis Wheatley."

Abbé Gregoire also says of Sainte Georges:

According to the traveler Arndt, this new Alcibiades was the finest, strongest, and most amiable of his contemporaries; and besides he was generous, a good citizen, and a good friend. All people of fashion, or, in other words frivolous people, considered him as an accomplished man. He was the idol of fashionable societies. . . . What pity that the happy

inclinations of St. George had not been directed towards pursuits which would have procured him the esteem and gratitude of his fellow citizens? We may, however, recollect, that enlisted under the banners of the republic he served in the war of freedom.

EMPEROR MENELIK OF ABYSSINIA.

The military achievements of Henry Diaz, Brazil's military genius of the seventeenth century, and of Alexander Dumas, the mulatto general, the son of Marquis Alexandre Davy de la Pallette and a Negress, who distinguished himself in the wars of the Revolution and of the Directory, who commanded the French cavalry in the Egyptian expedition, who "with four men near Lisle, attacked a post of fifty Austrians, killed six and made sixteen prisoners," and who was called by Napoleon "The Horatius Cocles of the Tyrol," equal the achievements of General Ras Makonnen and the Abyssinian army. But Menelik was also a great statesman and ruler as well as a great soldier.

King Menelik of Abyssinia, who recently died, is not only, with the possible exception of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the most remarkable man that the Negro race has yet produced, but he is one of the most remarkable men the nineteenth century has produced. Although he died in 1910, I class him among the men the nineteenth century has produced, because he was born in 1844 and because his life work was achieved in the nineteenth century. In the last ten years of his life, the years in which his life extended into the twentieth century, he was but resting upon his laurels and reaping the fruits of his earlier activity.

That I am not alone in thus rating him may be seen from the fact that the *New York Independent*, in the spring of 1906, said that he manifested the constructive and creative genius of a Bismarck, and in April, 1910, said that he was the most picturesque of living monarchs.

What was there about King Menelik's career that thus brought this high praise from the *New York Independent*. Menelik did five things. (1) By force and strategy he routed his enemies and gained the crown. (2) By his administrative genius he did what his predecessors failed to do; he brought order out of chaos and ruled the turbulent and restless mongrel populations of Abyssinia with an iron hand. (3) He sent the terror of his name far

and wide and made his power dreaded by neighboring savage tribes for miles around. (4) In 1896 his army, which he had brought to a high state of efficiency, under General Ras Makonnen, annihilated an Italian army in the pass of Adowa and forced Italy to accept his terms of peace. (5) By his tact, diplomacy, native shrewdness and political sagacity he played England, France and Russia off against each other and prevented each from interfering with his kingdom.

Thus Menelik was equally great as a ruler, soldier and statesman, and well might be called the Bismarck or Peter the Great of the Negro race.

In Robert Chamelot's book, "*Mu Grand Politique S. M. G. Empereur Menelik II, Roides Rois a Ethiopie*," published in 1899, there is a picture of King Menelik. Menelik has a white band around his head, with a wide-brimmed, soft hat on. He is of dark, swarthy complexion, rather broad nose, thick Negroid lips, short, close-cropped beard and full face, showing two teeth and strong chin and jaw. He has open, fearless eyes, and a bold, resolute expression. He is a lion in repose, a lion in his amiable moods. He has a kind, intelligent face; but I imagine that, when aroused, his eyes flash fire, his lips are compressed and he is capable of great fierceness and ferocity. His wrath must be terrible when he is aroused. And when one arouses him, he aroused a tempest. He is undoubtedly a man born to rule, and not to be trifled or played with.

On page 202 of his work on Abyssinia, Herbert Vivian thus describes Menelik:

His small, brown eyes wore an expression of fatigue and what should be the whites of them were yellow. His forehead is narrow but the upper part of his face appears to have much character and kindness. His beard and whiskers are very close and curly and inclined to be gray. His voice is soft and rather oily, without any vestige of the usual Abyssinian squeak. He speaks very deliberately, showing his teeth and tongue and wagging his head a great deal. He makes no gesticulations with his hands, except that, sometimes, he puts the fingertips together. On the whole, I should describe him as rather of an ecclesiastical manner. Throughout the whole of my audience he impressed me as being gentle and easy-going, but once, when the interpreter asked leave to say a few words on behalf of Captain Herrington, his expression changed with extraordinary rapidity. The smile died away, the easy carelessness was no longer to be seen, and his eyes lit up with a shrewd, sharp expression.



Such was King Menelik—a half barbarian, a semi-civilized monarch, but with marvelous ability to absorb and assimilate civilization, with wonderful constructive and creative military and political genius, extraordinary executive and administrative genius, all backed by a powerful and impressive personality. He was a born king, a man born to rule and command, a man with a magisterial personality, who could speak *ex cathedra*, as one having authority.

On the whole, Menelik ruled by wisdom and not cruelty and made himself felt in the interior of Africa.

Menelik was like Charlemagne in four respects: he had a "lack of learning," "his people were uncivilized"; "hordes of enemies surrounded his kingdom," and "he pushed back the border of his enemies."

It remains to be seen whether the present king of Abyssinia and his advisers will be strong enough to rule the natives of Abyssinia and the subject territories and wise enough to maintain friendly relations with the European powers. Menelik was undoubtedly an African Charlemagne, and unless his successor is a strong man, his kingdom will break into pieces.

GENERAL ALFRED AMEDÉE DODDS.

It was an accident that first brought the news to me of the Negro blood coursing through the veins of General Alfred Dodds of France. In the spring of 1910, I met Mr. W. H. Morrell, a wide-awake colored gentleman of Negro and Indian descent, who was approaching the four-score mark, while he was selling roots and herbs in Cambridge. He informed me that he had traveled with John Slater of Slater Mills, had visited Africa and met King Menelik of Abyssinia. He told me that General Alfred Dodds of France, at first senior commander of the allies in the Boxer rebellion, was of Negro descent. Objection was raised to him on account of his color, and Field Marshal Count Von Waldersee, a German, was finally appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces.

At first, I paid no attention to this rumor, thinking that it was a traveler's yarn. Then, in talking with Mr. George W. Forbes, assistant librarian of the West End Branch of the Boston Public

Library, I discovered that he, too, had heard the same tale. I was still a doubting Thomas.

Then I read the address of Brigadier General Andrew S. B. Burt, U. S. A. (retired), upon "The Negro as a Soldier," delivered at Boston on December 12, 1910. In the course of that address, he said: "And General Alfred Dodds, to-day the idol of the French army, refutes the charge that Negroes lack military capacity to lead." Then I thought that there must be some foundation in fact for the rumor. Finally, I read Mr. Daniel Murray's scholarly article upon "Struggling to Rise," published in the *A. M. E. Church Review* for January 13, 1913. He says in the article, "If I found a colored man who, like General Dodds, was in command of the French forces in China during the Boxer troubles, I have not neglected any means to gather the facts of his life." So many conservative and critical men of both races have referred to General Dodds being of Negro descent that I am constrained to accept it as an established fact. It has been difficult for me to secure the details of his life, but so far as I can learn, he is a quadroon.

Lippincott's Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary gives this account of his career:

A French general, born at Saint Louis, Senegal, in 1842. He entered the marine infantry in 1864, and took part in the Franco-German war and the Cochin China and Tonking expeditions. In 1892 he was given chief command of the expedition against Dahomy. He served in Tonking in 1896.

The *Encyclopædia Americana* gives this account of his career:

Alfred Amedée Dodds, French military officer; born St. Louis, Senegal, 6 February, 1842. He was educated at the Lyceum of Carcassonne and at the military school of Saint Cyr, and entered the French army as sub-lieutenant in 1864. In 1894 he commanded the expedition which resulted in the conquest of Dahomey and the dethronement of King Behanyen. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the French forces in Indo-China in 1896. He became an officer of the Legion of Honor in 1883, commander in 1891, and a grand officer in 1892.

Quite a tribute to General Dodds appeared in the Sunday edition of the *New York Tribune*, April 17, 1910, in an article upon "When is a Colored Man not a Negro in America?" The writer says:

Without entering into the familiar controversy as to whether or not Robert Browning had any African blood in his veins, the story having undoubtedly originated in the fact that his grandmother was a Creole, it may be pointed out that two of the most brilliant Frenchmen of the last half century—three of them, in fact—have been of undoubtedly African ancestry. One of them is General Alfred Dodds, a quadroon, who is recognized at home and abroad as one of the ablest commanders of the French army, the only one, indeed, who has covered himself with military glory since the days of the Franco-Russian War, and who wears not only the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, but also the highly prized *Medaille Militaire*.

His father was a French colonist of English parentage, established on the west coast of Africa, and his mother a handsome mulatto woman. When he returned to France after the conquest of Dahomey and of other West African kingdoms, which he added to the colonial empire of France, the entire nation, irrespective of party or politics, turned out to welcome him, and to such an extent did he become an object of popular enthusiasm that there is no doubt that he might easily have established himself in the rôle of military dictator had it not been for his loyalty to the republic.

## CHAPTER LIII.

*The Negro as Scholar—Juan Latino—Ahmed Baba—Abderrahman Sadi of Timbuctoo—Amo—Capitein—Francis Williams—Geoffrey L'Islet—Julien Raimond—Benjamin Banneker—Bishop Adjai Crowther and Sarbah—Prof. C. C. Cook.*

### JUAN LATINO.

(By Arthur A. Schomburg, Secretary Negro Society for Historical Research, Yonkers, N. Y., in *The African Times and Orient Review*, December-January, 1913.)

The remark attributed to John C. Calhoun, "that the Negro race was so inferior it could not produce a single individual who could conjugate a Greek verb," was accepted half a century ago in this country as the last word on the subject of the inferiority of the Negro. Thomas Jefferson, one of the fathers of the revolution, and a friend of the Negro race, who was not so dogmatic as Calhoun, said:—"I think one (Negro) could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless and anomalous. . . . Never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. . . . Religion, indeed, has produced a Phyllis Wheatley; but it could not produce a poet." So much for the American statesmen. In Europe we have had the historian Hume, who said in one of his essays that "there are Negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of whom none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity. . . . In Jamaica, indeed, they talk of one Negro as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for slender accomplishments, like a parrot who speaks a few words plainly."

As the world rolls onward, evidence accumulates from day to day to prove that these eminent gentlemen have been unjust in their opinion, not zealous in their research, nor calm in their gifted reasoning, before giving to the public the result of their investigations on this subject.

It has been said time and again from the earliest days, that "America has not produced one good poet," and again it has been noted that not "one able mathematician" has been produced, because the country is young; when old, like Greece, it may produce a Homer, or, like England, a Shakespeare. Thomas Jefferson said that the "reproach is as unjust as it is unkind."

There was a Spanish poet known as Juan Latino, who was born during the latter part of the sixteenth century in the northern littoral of

Africa. Some of his biographers claimed that he was born at Berbery during the year 1515. He was captured by Spanish caravel traders, who made a practice of bringing Negroes to Sevilla, and sold to the family of the famous Gonzalo de Cordova. He was said to have a great aptitude for learning, and he was permitted at the time that his young master was at school to learn grammar and the other studies then in vogue in Spain. His master afterwards granted him his liberty. He lived at Granada, and was professor of Grammar, Latin and Greek in the University of that city. The writer Gallardo, in the first volume of his essays on "Spanish Bibliography," speaks of an anonymous writer who calls Latino the most famous Negro of his day, that he was raised in the city of Granada "in the home of the Duchess of Terranova, widow of the great Captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova; he was servant to their son, the Duke of Sesa, and carried daily his books to his study." Latino learned grammar and the Latin language readily because of his very splendid mind. When a young man he fell in love with Anna Carloval, a beautiful woman, and daughter of the custodian of the Duke's estate. Many inducements were made to her to break the engagement, but she refused them all, saying she had given her word to be the Negro's wife. Latino studied the arts, and became a master in them; he wanted to advance further, but was offered the Chair of Grammar at the University of Granada, which he held for more than sixty years, and was highly esteemed by all his fellow professors and students because of his great learning and noble character. He was an excellent declaimer of Terence, and was doubtless a great admirer of that polished writer, and of the quotation from his writing: "*Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*," which so well expresses his feelings on the subject of manhood. He was also a great musician and a good poet, and known for his courageous actions when young. He lived to the ripe age of ninety years, leaving respectable sons and grandsons. The widow of Juan Latino erected a monument in the Church of Saint Ann, where he was buried. Engraved on the marble is the following epitaph, which has been reproduced by Nicholas Antonio in his first tome of the "*Bibliotheca Nova*" (p. 716): "Juan was an excellent Latin poet. He sang the birth of the Prince Ferdinand II, the deeds of Pius V's pontificate, and the times of Don Juan of Austria at Lepanto." The book, a quarto volume, is in Latin, and was printed at Granada in 1573. Mr. Antonio also cites another book in Latin by Latino on the Spanish Royal Cemetery, better known as the Escorial. This book was printed at Granada in 1576.

Those who have waded through the beautiful chapters of Cervantes' book, "*Don Quixote*," will run across Latino, and will remember that God hath placed him there to refute the statements of Calhoun, Jefferson, and Hume. There is no doubt about Latino's origin and race—his epitaph reads: "*Filius Æthiopium, prolesque nigerrima patrum*."

Mr. Ticknor, in his work, "*The History of Spanish Literature*," states that Juan Latino's book, "making above a hundred and sixty pages in

small quarto, is not only one of the rarest books in the world, but is one of the most remarkable illustrations of the intellectual faculties and possible accomplishments of the African race." It is extremely gratifying to know that at the University of Granada, at such a remote period of the world's history, there was a man learned in the arts and letters who could think, read and sing in Latin, and knew men, fellow-professors, who could disentangle the hard problem of Euclid with the same ease and grace that Latino could declaim Terence. In those days, as Raynal charged, "America could not produce one able mathematician, one man of genius in a single art or a single science." Is it too much to ask that the Negro, who has just reached his fiftieth year of freedom, be given the same opportunity to prove himself as was asked for the Americans against whom a like charge was made, and of which Jefferson said: "We therefore suppose that this reproach is as unjust as it is unkind and that of the geniuses which adorn the present age America contributes its full share? The race which Jefferson and Calhoun held up to contempt and scorn did not deserve their reproaches, because it is this race which gave to the Greeks and Romans, who in turn gave it to Europe and America, all their present boasted knowledge of the arts and sciences, religion, and law and government. In geography, Africa, says the learned Blyden, "has been called 'Africa nutrix leonum' (the dry nurse of lions), so in the early political history of the United States the same description is applicable to the gray-haired mother of civilization. Lions in Church and State were born out of her struggles and sufferings."

#### AHMED BABA.

A full account of the career of Ahmed Baba will be found on pages 306-310 of Major Felix DuBois's book, "Timbuctoo, the Mysterious." Ahmed Baba was born in 1556 at Arawan, of Senhadjan Berber parentage, and died at Timbuctoo in 1627. He wrote over twenty books, one an astronomical treatise, written in verse, a few commentaries on the holy texts, but most of them elucidating law and science. He also wrote an account of Negroic peoples and a large biographical dictionary of the Muslim doctors of the Malekite sect called the "El Ibtihadj." He was called "very learned and very magnanimous," and "a fount of erudition," by the Arabs.

#### ABDERRAHMAN SADI.

An interesting account of Abderrahman Sadi is given on pages 310-316 of Major DuBois's "Timbuctoo, the Mysterious." He was born in Timbuctoo and reached the age of manhood between

1625 and 1635, and died in 1656. Major DuBois says that his work, "Tarik e-Soudan," "The History of the Soudan," "is known to the furtherest extremity of western Africa, from the shore of the Niger to the borders of Lake Chad." It was published by his scholars as a memorial volume at the time of his death. It and Ahmed Baba's works are early notable examples of the African's literary ambition. Mr. Hondas, professor in the School of Oriental Languages, Paris, is preparing a translation of "Tarik e-Soudan" to be published soon.

#### AMO.

Professor Chamberlain says that Amo was born at Aim, Gold Coast, South Africa. In 1707, while very young, he was brought as a slave to Amsterdam and presented by Duke Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig to his son, August Wilhelm, who educated him.

Gregoire says that Amo took his Ph.D. degree from Wittenberg with a dissertation on "Apathy." Chamberlain says that he took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Halle with a dissertation on "De Jure Maurorum," which is praised in the programme by the dean of the philosophical faculty in the words, "Excussis tam veterum quam novarum placitis, optima quaeque, selegit, selecta enucleate ac dilucide interpretatus est." He was also spoken of as "vir nobilissimus et clarissimus." Chamberlain also says that the dissertation on "Apathy" was his inaugural address upon being appointed professor at Wittenberg. I believe that Chamberlain's account is the truer.

Professor Chamberlain also says:

He was also the author of other philosophical treatises in Latin. Like Capitein, Amo was noted for his linguistic attainments. He is said to have been able to speak Dutch, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and was certainly able to write several of these tongues. The Prussian government of the time conferred upon him the high honor of "Geheim-Rat," something over and above his merely scholastic achievements. The death of his benefactor, the Duke of Brunswick, seems to have affected him deeply, and, after some thirty years' residence in Europe, he returned to his home in Africa. There he found that his father and sister were still alive. Amo himself was still living there in isolation in 1753, when he was visited by Dr. D. H. Gallaudat. Here, again, from a Negro hut on the Gold Coast to a degree from one German University and a position in

the Faculty of another, and the title of "Excellency" from the Government of the country that was soon to dominate all Central Europe, is a career almost incredible. No wonder Grégoire, in his monograph in defence of the Negro, published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the German anatomist, Tiedemann, in his work on the brain of the Negro (1837), cited the cases of Capitein and Amo as settling the question of intellectual capacity of the black man.

*Capitein, Francis Williams and Benjamin Banneker.*

I have already sketched the lives of Capitein and Francis Williams, who wrote elegies and odes in Latin, which attracted the attention of the savants of Europe of the middle of the Eighteenth Century, in my chapter upon "Distinguished Foreign Negroes." Reference has also been made to the career of Benjamin Banneker the astronomer and almanac maker in the same chapter and in my chapter upon "Colored History Makers during Revolutionary and Ante-Bellum Days."

BISHOP ADJAI CROWTHER.

The celebrated Adjai Crowther, the missionary bishop of the Niger, who began his career as a slave boy, attained renown as an explorer, geographist, philologist and missionary, and died with the distinction of being the only Negro who ever received the Doctor of Divinity degree from Oxford University. From slavery to a honorary degree from the greatest of the English universities is a record of which any man should be proud. Professor Francis Chamberlain of Clark University, in the article in the "Journal of Race Development," in April, 1911, to which I have already referred, pays a merited tribute to Bishop Crowther.

I regret that lack of space prevents my republishing that tribute in full, but an epitome of the career of the celebrated bishop will be found in my chapters, "Africa To-Day" and "Distinguished Foreign Negroes."

SARBAH, THE AFRICAN SAVANT.

John Mensah Sarbah is the author of "Fanti Customary Law" and "Fanti Institutions," in which he proved the existence of a system of law on the Gold Coast, founded on the needs of the people and fully adapted to their circumstances. He was a full-



blooded Negro, who received his early education at the local mission school. He graduated from Wesley College, Taunton, England, studied law and was admitted to the English bar at Lincoln's Inn. Returning to West Africa, he succeeded his father, the Honorable John Sarbah, as native member of the Legislative Council. The English government conferred the decoration of C.M.G. upon him in 1909. He died in 1910 in the forty-sixth year of his life. He was a man of high character and possessed unusual literary and legal ability. A very interesting article on Sarbah, written by W. F. Hutchinson, appeared in the *African Times and Orient Review*, London, England, in December, 1912.

JULIEN RAIMOND.

A brief account of Julien Raimond, a San Domingo mulatto, who wrote a history of San Domingo, is given in my chapter upon "Distinguished Foreign Negroes." Professor Mitchell B. Garrett of the University of Michigan had an interesting article upon "The West Indian Negro Question and the French National Assembly in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January, 1913, in which he vividly portrayed the stirring scenes in which Raimond was a principal actor.

In 1787 Brissot organized the Society of the Friends of the Blacks. Such eminent Frenchmen as Mirabeau, Robespierre, La Fayette, Petion and the Abbé Gregoire became active members. In August, 1789, "the declaration of the rights of man" became a constitutional decree. The West Indian mulattoes living in Paris prepared a pamphlet. On October 22, 1889, a delegation headed by Julien Raimond, de Joly and Ogé appeared before the French National Assembly and expressed their grievances against the colonists. The president of the National Assembly replied, "No part of the nation shall appeal in vain to the National Assembly for its rights."

Professor Garrett says that "the whole speech was finely phrased . . . Both the speech and the response by the president of the National Assembly were greeted with prolonged applause and were both ordered to be spread entire upon the official minutes. Then the mulattoes were voted the honors of the sitting."

The committee on election desired to recommend the admission of two colored deputies, but the planters objected and raised such an uproar that the report could not be read. The story of San Domingo's struggle for liberty is too long to be repeated here. But we must remember that Ogé was the martyr and Raimond the bright and shining intellectual light of the movement.

FOOT NOTE.—Reference has been made in the chapter on "Colored History Makers of To-Day," to the worth of the late Professor C. C. Cook of Howard University, whose father and grandfather were eminent citizens of the District of Columbia, and who was himself drowned while swimming at Sea Isle City, N. J., in the summer of 1911. While he left as his literary monument no profound works such as Blyden and Sarbah did, and while he was so modest, quiet and unassuming that he was rarely in the limelight, I believe that his was one of the finest minds and characters that the colored race has yet produced.

In December, 1898, I heard him read his paper upon "The Entrance of Japan upon her Progressive Stage," before the American Negro Academy. It revealed a comprehensive grip of human history, an insight into the present trend of affairs, and was withal written in lucid English. It preëminently showed the power of his intellect and what he was capable of producing. And the manliness of his character matched the brilliancy of his mind. He was happily married to Miss M. Adelaide Able of Philadelphia, Pa., a very noble woman, who survived him with five children.

## ADDENDA.

Miss Helen Hagan received the degree of Bachelor of Music from the Yale Conservatory of Music in 1912.

Mr. Henry G. Slaughter is now editor of the *Odd Fellows Journal*.

Inadvertently the names of Dr. M. F. Allen and Dr. A. L. Magill of New Haven, Conn., were omitted from the list of successful physicians.

I. Garland Penn, the author of "The Afro-American Press," is now the Corresponding Secretary of the Freedman's Aid and Educational Society.

Prof. Edward A. Bouchet informs me that William Carl Bolivar of Philadelphia, the littérateur, who for over twenty years has written the "Pencil Pusher Column" for the *Philadelphia Tribune*, has been elected professor of Racial History in Downingtown University, Downingtown, Pa., of which Rev. Dr. William H. Creditt, pastor of the Cherry Street Baptist Church of Philadelphia, is president.

Rev. Solomon Porter Hodd, D.D., of Trenton, N. J., who inspired my chapter upon Hayti, is commissioner for the New Jersey Emancipation Celebration.

Dr. Solomon C. Fuller is instructor in the department of Neurology of Boston University and pathologist at the Westborough State Hospital.

Frederick Douglass Bonner of New Haven, Conn., a Yale graduate, has been in the Philippines twelve years. He has been postmaster of five towns and is now Supervising Principal of fifteen towns.

Joseph Griffin and M. K. Holland of New Haven, Conn., called my attention to valuable data.

I am indebted to Mr. Edward Randolph of New Haven, Conn., for a splendid notice in one of the New Haven papers.

Mr. Moses Spears and Mrs. George H. Landon of New Haven, Conn., rendered me valuable assistance in raising funds.

Charles A. Ward, an attorney of Chicago, Ill., was appointed Appraiser of the Inheritance Tax.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead rendered signal service to the Emancipation Celebration held in Boston in January, 1913.

Lewis Latimer of Flushing, L. I., a son of George A. Latimer, the famous fugitive slave, for over a score of years has been an inventor and electrician in the employ of the Edison Company.

Mrs. Theophilus G. Steward, née Mrs. Dr. McKinney, was the first colored woman to qualify as a physician. Mrs. A. C. Cowan of Brooklyn, N. Y., née Miss Lutie A. Lytle, was the first colored woman to qualify as a member of the bar.

Inadvertently the names of Major Taylor, the ex-champion bicycle rider of Worcester, Mass., Louis C. Taylor of Lynn, Mass., and Father Kiveletts, Mrs. Lavinia Bembrey, John Vanderveer, Frank Little and Louis Easter of Freehold, N. J., were omitted from the list of those who subscribed in full or in part.

## ERRATA.

Throughout Chapter XXXIX, "Frank K. Bird" should read "Francis W. Bird," and "Charles S. Bird" should read "Charles Sumner Bird."

On page 780, line 22, and on page 815, line 5, "Chaplain Theophilus C. Stewart" should read "Chaplain Theophilus G. Steward."

On page 816, line 27, "Miss Lyons of Brooklyn" should read "Miss Maritcha Lyons of Brooklyn."

On page 817, line 12, "Miss Muse of New Haven" should read "Miss Jessie Muse of New Haven."

On page 870, lines 6 and 14, "The Sunday School Times" and "Sunday Times" should read "Taggart's Sunday Times."

On page 780, beginning at line 20, the present list of colored officers, with rank, should be: Major John R. Lynch, retired; Captain Charles Young, First Lieutenant Benjamin O. Davis, First Lieutenant John E. Green, Lieutenant-Colonel Allen Allensworth, retired; Major William T. Anderson, retired; Captain George W. Prialean, First Lieutenant W. W. E. Gladden, First Lieutenant Oscar J. W. Scott, First Lieutenant Louis A. Carter, and M. M. McCary, army paymaster's clerk.













